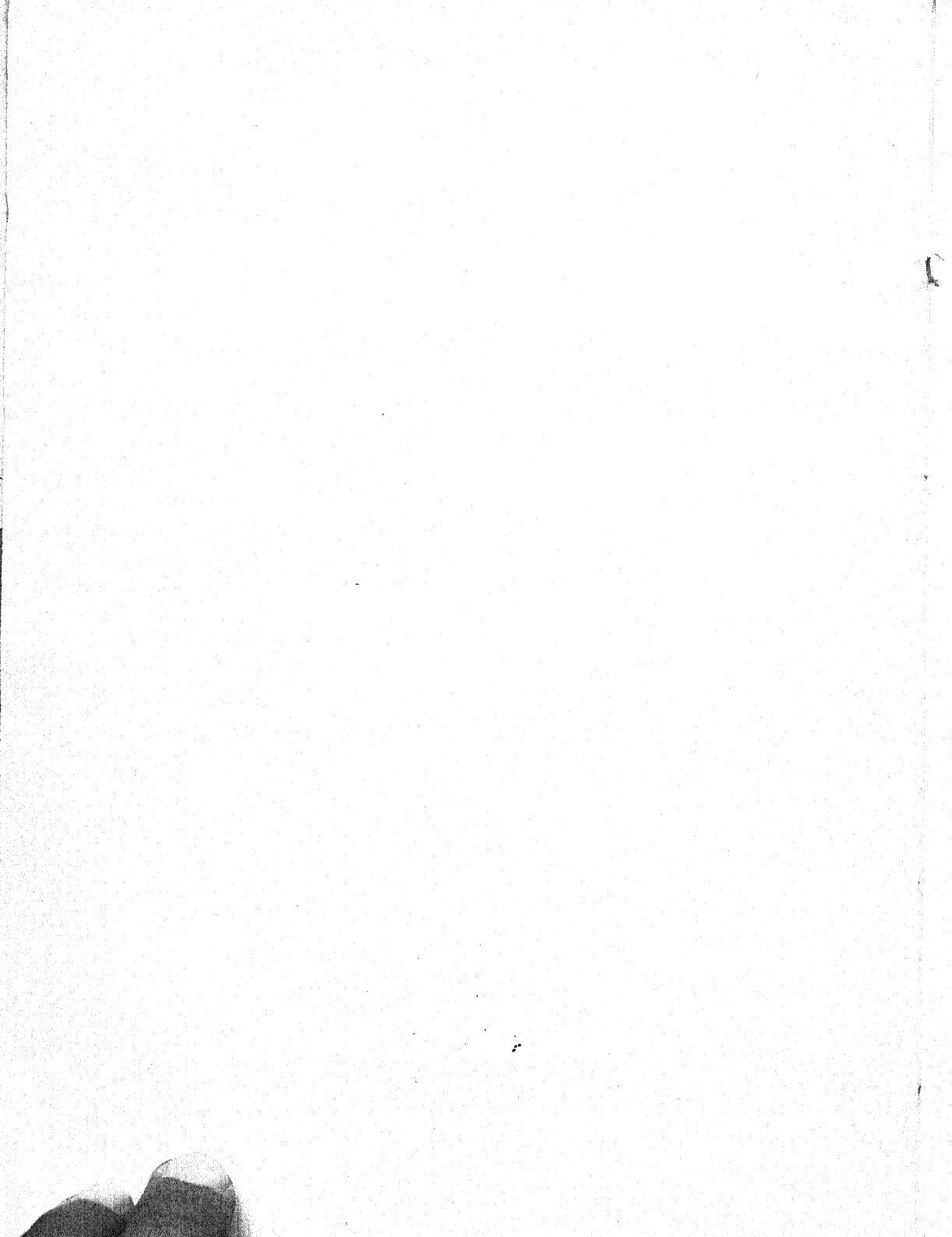


THE SERPENT IN KWAKIUTL RELIGION



# THE SERPENT IN KWAKIUTL RELIGION

A STUDY IN PRIMITIVE CULTURE

BY

Dr. G. W. LOCHER

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## I. INTRODUCTION <sup>1)</sup>.

The culture of the Northwest Coast tribes of North America occupies an important place in the interest of general ethnology. We have at our disposal extensive and in many respects good materials regarding this area, but the main cause of this interest probably lies in the character of the culture in question itself.

Besides the art, it is especially the socio-economic phenomena which have been attracting attention. Concerning this subject several important studies have been written, among which Mauss' pioneer treatise "*Essai sur le don*" may surely be mentioned as a thing unique of its kind <sup>2)</sup>. In this and in other monographs of a more general character we also find much about the religion of these population groups. It is peculiar to notice, however, that up to now not a single student has ventured to give a detailed analysis of the religious system as such. Some restrict themselves to general remarks, others especially discuss the social forms (clans, societies) in which the religious system is embodied in the community <sup>3)</sup>. Hardly anybody proceeds beyond pointing out such mythic figures as he considers most important, and rendering the myths which in his opinion are most characteristic <sup>4)</sup>. As a matter of fact Seler is the only one who has gone a little farther. In a few papers <sup>5)</sup> he made important observations about some principles of the doctrinal system and its representation on ritual objects, especially rattles. He had at his disposal, however, very limited materials. Although his attitude towards mythology was strongly influenced by the "nature-mythological" school of thought, he yet succeeded in pointing out connections of primary

1) The numbers in the notes refer to the bibliography at the end. Italics are from the present writer.

2) 44, see specially p. 87—126.

3) Specially important in this respect are the studies of Davy (25 and 48).

4) Frazer (31), no more, goes any farther.

5) 54.

interest. The antithesis of sun and moon, namely, is one of the forms in which the dualism of the religious system prevailing here finds its expression, and, moreover, Seler realised that this antithesis is closely connected with the one of life and death. He has not penetrated, however, to the very core of the system. This is also true of Boas, whose ethnographic work concerning the culture under discussion is nothing less than an enormous achievement, enormous in quality as well as in quantity. Especially the description of the ritual and the accurate records of myths, command our deep admiration, let alone the incredible working-power which enabled him to publish, besides numerous other books and papers on various subjects, a steadily growing series of studies written either by himself or under his guidance on this culture during a period of more than 40 years. But Boas has never set himself to work out these extensive materials into a synthetic whole. His interest was chiefly directed towards the language and the material culture and — as regards mythology — towards the diffusion of myth types and figures. The strongly analytical bend of mind, which became a general characteristic of the school owing its existence to his tuition and his inspiration, led him to a severe criticism of the often phantastic hypotheses and one-sided theoretical constructions of older ethnology, but on the other hand gave rise to the conception of culture as a more or less arbitrary, fortuitous conglomerate of elements which should be analysed by means of the "historical method". According to this method one should try to ascertain, whence those elements originated and where are to be found the principal centres of diffusion. It is a matter of course that these questions — especially where material culture is concerned — are very important, but if we leave it at that, little insight is gained into the culture in its entirety. For is it not most important of all, particularly as regards spiritual culture, to ascertain how the cultural system has been built up, by which forces and principles it is dominated, and how it functions in practice? Of much greater value than the statement that certain foreign elements have penetrated into a culture, is the answer to the question why and in which manner these elements have been accepted. And for this we need some

insight into the cultural system as such. This is pre-eminently true of mythology, which is dominated by a strict system and which by no means consists of a fortuitous hodge-podge of figures and motifs. This system is based on the root idea of native religion. For what else is myth than the contents of religious belief, represented in a definite form? It follows that there is a fundamental difference between myths and fairy-tales or other stories, even if it is often difficult to draw a sharp line of demarcation in practice. Generally speaking the safest criterion is the attitude of the Indians themselves. From this it is usually quite evident whether a certain tale belongs to the sacred or to the profane sphere. Myth essentially belongs to the sacred sphere. A very valuable piece of evidence in this connection is the distinction which, according to Boas, is made by the Indians themselves with regard to their tales<sup>1)</sup>. All tales relating to the primeval age, when human beings and animals were not yet separated, are distinguished from all other stories by means of a separate term. This distinction implies a narrower limitation of the notion of myth than the one proposed, but it is based on the same principle. For the primeval age is really the mythical age, that sacred period in which took place the events which justify the essential contents of religious belief<sup>2)</sup>. Consequently the tales in question are myths in the narrower sense of the word: they are the most sacred myths.

By treating the mythology according to literary motifs, as Boas has done<sup>3)</sup>, this distinction is lost. However important a comparative study of this kind may be, in several respects, it will never help us much to gain a deeper insight into the essence of the mythical system, that means: of the religion. In Boas' important publications on these tribes, especially in his "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians"<sup>4)</sup>, we occasionally meet, it is true, with observations about the character of the religion, but these observations do not form

1) 23, p. 565. This distinction is found not only among the Kwakiutl, but also with the other coast tribes.

2) In performing acts according to sacred usage, it is repeatedly stated that they were established in primeval times; cp. 6, *passim*.

3) Specially in 23; see also 7e, p. 487 ff.

4) 6.

a coherent whole, whereas his discussion of the origin and structure of the social system does, to a certain extent.

Among the Kwakiutl the latter is very complicated. Moreover, when Boas was making his inquiries there, it was already in disorder owing to the dying out of tribes and the unsettlement of the culture through contact with modern civilization<sup>1)</sup>. This state of affairs made his ethnographical research work very difficult. But equally serious drawbacks, also in this study of his, were his almost exclusively analytical method and his conception of culture as a conglomerate of elements. These led him to the conclusion that the social organization which he found with the Kwakiutl was the result of a mingling of two organization types, viz. a probably bilateral grouping with strong patrilineal tendencies, in his opinion the original one, and a matrilineal unilateral organization like the one met with among the northern tribes (Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit)<sup>2)</sup>. The last-mentioned form of organization is, also in Boas' opinion, totemic; consequently, it is very probably connected with — or has in any event influenced — the religious system. We do not agree with this interpretation, nor do we accept the explanation suggested by Davy<sup>3)</sup>, who regards this condition of affairs as a classical example of the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal organization. In a separate paper, which as we hope will appear in the near future, we shall try to demonstrate that the basis of social organization with these tribes has been a double-unilateral system, probably connected with a double, viz. a patrilineal and a matrilineal totemism<sup>4)</sup>. In the following discussion, however, these problems will be left out of consideration as much as possible. It was necessary to touch upon them in this connection, because we agree with Boas that the social organization is in confusion, even if we cannot accept his explanation. It is to be expected that, owing to this state of confusion, several associations and connections between

1) 6, p. 332 ff.; 24, p. III.

2) 6, p. 334; 24, p. 123—125; cp. 31, p. 319—320 and p. 332.

3) In 25 and 48.

4) As in Australia, Africa, and probably in many more regions. Cp. A. R. Brown, *The social organization of Australian tribes*, in *Oceania I*; and the works of R. S. Rattray about the Ashanti (Oxford. 1923, 1927, 1929, 1932).



social and mythical elements<sup>1)</sup> will be difficult to grasp at present — if they have not become quite irre recognizable.

For this reason we have used the following method. We made no attempt to reconstruct the whole religious system and to solve all contradictions, but we have selected a figure of obviously central significance and have tried to determine its relations to other figures in order to acquire gradually an insight into the fundamental idea by which the system is governed.

As the figure most suitable for this purpose we selected the serpent, and it became soon evident that this mythical being is indeed central, and even pre-eminently so. It was found that the determination of the mythical position and significance of the serpent meant as much as obtaining the key to the understanding of the ritual of the secret societies. An inquiry into its place in the mythologies of the surrounding tribes also proved to be of great value, as by this means several relations were elucidated and some apparent contradictions were solved.

It will be obvious that we have not the pretension of explaining everything, nor do we expect that further investigations will prove all our suggested explanations to be right. But we do hope that this study, taken in its entirety, will contribute to a better knowledge and a deeper understanding of the essential things in the religion of these Indians.

Finally, it is perhaps not superfluous to state that this study presupposes some familiarity with the main features of Northwest Coast ethnography<sup>2)</sup>.

1) The essential unity of myth, ritual, and social organization has been conclusively proved by W. H. Rassers in his admirable treatise „Over den oorsprong van het Javaansche tooneel” (51).

2) For a survey with regard to socio-economic phenomena see a. o. the studies of Davy (25 and 48), Sapir (53), and Mauss (44); concerning the social forms of religion: Adam (1), Frazer (31), and Davy (25 and 48).

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## II. THE CENTRAL POSITION OF THE SERPENT IN THE SYSTEM.

The form in which the Sisiul, as the serpent is called by the Kwakiutl, is represented, namely with two heads, one in front and one behind, and a human head in the middle, is already suggestive of a certain duality in this figure. And as a matter of fact we find it in the upper- as well as in the underworld. This may be illustrated most conveniently by describing the paintings on a house in the upperworld and those on one in the underworld. The latter is met with in a very important myth about a man Lalepalas, who, after spearing the sisiul, in the opinion that it was a salmon<sup>1</sup>), fell ill and was taken away in a canoe to the "gathering-place of the souls of the dead", where he was put next to the door of a large house. "Then Lalepalas looked at the great raven which was sitting in the middle of the doorway. Its legs were spread apart, and the doorway was between the legs, and a double-headed serpent was on top of the front outside of the house, and a wolf was standing on the head of the man in the middle of the double-headed serpent"<sup>2</sup>).

In the next chapter we shall see that the serpent is especially connected with the underworld, so that we even meet him as god of this region.

Its place on the house in the upperworld is indicated as follows: "... the painting on the front boards of the large house was the Sun on the right-hand side of the door, and the Moon on the left-hand side of the door and the Thunderbird was over the door. The cross-beam over the (men) posts of the doorway of the house was a double-headed serpent"<sup>3</sup>). The same painting is mentioned with relation to the house of Tsäqame, the thunderbird which has

1) The serpent frequently occurs in the shape of a salmon; e.g. 12, p. 197 and 15, p. 451 and p. 482—483.

2) 16, p. 1119.

3) 12, p. 50—51.

become a human being, and in this connection it is also said that "the Thunderbird was clutching the serpent" <sup>1)</sup>).

In a certain sense, this façade painting gives a brief résumé of the whole mythic system, both in its monistic and in its dualistic aspect. We may explain this more precisely. From the two paintings it will be evident to anybody, who does not flatly deny the possibility of anything resembling a system, that here we are in touch with a genuine totemic cosmological system of classification. For our insight into structure, character, and function of systems of this kind we are especially indebted to Durkheim and his school. This acknowledgement does not by any means imply that we should adopt the tendency of this school to regard the social forms in this classification as primary, or that we should agree with their views concerning the development of those forms and, consequently, of the contents of the system. The most important thing to be kept in mind is this. Primitive culture does not know the separateness of various spheres of life that we are familiar with in modern civilization. The most important spheres that may be distinguished, viz. the religious, the social, and the economic ones, are rather three different aspects of the same thing than three separate and to a large extent self-contained parts. Their structure, in fact, shows a remarkable uniformity of pattern and is even for the greater part identical in all three spheres. Mauss, in the conclusion of his above-mentioned treatise concerning primitive economic phenomena, among which the renowned potlatch of our Coast tribes occupies an important place, briefly formulates this as follows: „Tous ces phénomènes sont à la fois, juridiques, économiques, religieux, et même esthétiques, morphologiques etc." <sup>2)</sup>).

In a totemic system which is still intact, the principal social groups are at the same time functional religious groups, as Durkheim has conclusively demonstrated in his famous work „*Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*" <sup>3)</sup>). Society and religious

1) 12, p. 186. Probably the thunderbird clutches the head in the serpent; cp. 16, p. 816—817: the thunderbird on the head of the man in the middle of the double headed serpent.

2) 44, p. 179.

3) 28. In 29 is given a brief summary of the classification system.

community are one, and the religious totemic symbols (animals, plants, and elements of nature) are social group badges at the same time. But there is more. All chief elements of religion, society, and nature are often integrated in the same system, which, consequently, embraces totality, while every distinction relates to all the spheres or regions of this totality. In that case the two exogamous moieties are connected with two totems which together represent the divine power. This duality is parallel and partly identical with the antitheses like Upperworld-Underworld, Light-Darkness, Sun-Moon. Further, one of the characteristics of such a totemic cosmological classification is the possibility for various elements of the same classificatory group to replace each other, while the grouping of the different figures in myth and in pictural representation derives its sense from the underlying system.

Durkheim and his followers have already pointed out that, notwithstanding the essential antitheses, it is a unity, both in a religious and in a social sense, which ultimately dominates the system. After all there is one single divine force (which manifests itself as totem or as mana) and there is also one social unity, in which the whole is integrated, viz. society. But our insight into these problems has especially been clarified by de Josselin de Jong, who has brought to light the universal significance of this system, dualistic and monistic at the same time, for religion and for culture in general. Some of his views are found in „De oorsprong van den goddelijken bedrieger”<sup>1)</sup>, but for the greater part they were expounded in a series of lectures at the University of Leiden. To these views especially the present writer owes a great deal. De Josselin de Jong regards the triad of primeval god (or divine creator), benefactor (culture hero), and trickster (divine deceiver) as the root principle of primitive religious systems in general<sup>2)</sup>. These may be three separate figures in mythology or three aspects of the same figure; but they may also be

1) 36.

2) The dualistic element in this triad is evident. The primeval god is the monistic aspect and the benefactor-trickster pair is the dualistic one. We meet with the same structure, as de Josselin de Jong has pointed out, in the circulating social and economic system (see about this 44, p. 64 ff. and Chapter X).

represented in a system by many different figures, and this happens frequently. The same principle also dominates the pantheons of classical antiquity. This explains why these pantheon figures so often show features of both aspects of the system. It is after all the same ambivalence which we also meet in more primitive systems. Such a pantheon comes into being when the religious forms dissociate themselves from the social system and begin to form a system of their own. This is the very phase we are concerned with among the Kwakiutl.

Now, if we represent to ourselves once more the above-mentioned painting of the house in the upperworld, we notice two antitheses, namely sun opposite moon and thunderbird opposite serpent. Both stand for the antitheses of upperworld and underworld, but they also form a unity. From a definite point of view, as we shall demonstrate later on, the moon is regarded as the nocturnal aspect of the sun, as the sun in the underworld, in the realm of the dead <sup>1)</sup>. That the thunderbird represents the upperworld, was already evident from the fact that its house has the same painting as the one in the upperworld. In shape it resembles the eagle with which, indeed, it is occasionally identified <sup>2)</sup>. The connection with the sun is apparent from the pictures of the latter, on which we may usually discover the same type of bird <sup>3)</sup>. The whale, which according to the classification system of all these tribes, represents the sea, is killed by the thunderbird by means of its lightning. Now the sea is the doorway leading to the underworld and the god of the sea also rules over that region and, as we have pointed out before, is represented as a serpent <sup>4)</sup>. But the flash of lightning, in other words the power of the thunderbird, by means of which the latter kills the whale, is likewise identified with the serpent! Swan, in an old treatise, relates that this conception of thunderbird, lightning, and whale is met with among all the coast tribes from the Chinook at the mouth of Columbia River as far as the Sitka-Tlingit deep into the North and always

1) Chapter IV and V.

2) Hill-Tout speaks about Thunder-eagle; in 6, p. 417 it is said of a thunderbird that it puts on its *eagle-dress*.

3) 54, p. 24. Fig. 16 in 6, p. 376 shows the thunderbird with the sun on either side.

4) See the next chapter.

shows the following general form: "The lightning is produced by a fish, like the *Hypocampus*, which he (i. e. the thunderbird) gets from the ocean and hides among his feathers. When he sees a whale he darts one of these animals down with great velocity, and the lightning is produced by the creature's tongue which is supposed to be like that of the *serpent*"<sup>1)</sup>.

This communication of Swan is confirmed by Hill-Tout when he relates about the Haida: "The lightning is supposed to come from the tongue of a fish which the thunder-eagle carries under his pinions"<sup>2)</sup>, and also by Boas' report concerning the Nootka, who



Fig. I.

are living south of the Kwakiutl, with whom they have much in common: "Thunder is produced by the flapping of the wings of the thunderbird Tutuc, the lightning by his belt, the snake Hahek-toyek, which he casts down upon the earth"<sup>3)</sup>. The beautiful pictural representation of this conception among the Makah Indians reproduced here (Fig. I) is taken from Swan's book on the Indians of Cape Flattery<sup>4)</sup>. It is a welcome illustration of our theoretical exposition and it will perhaps convince even those who, by nature or by education, are apt to assume a declinatory attitude towards all theoretical reasoning.

1) 56, p. 7. According to Swan, the representation among the Haida is absolutely identical with the one current among the Makah.

2) 8 f, p. 706.

3) 8 b, p. 596.

4) 56, p. 9.

It is seen that the thunderbird is holding the whale in its claws. One serpent, which here has the same name ("Hahektoak", as Swan spells it) as among the Nootka, is at the side of the thunderbird and another one is at the side of the whale. In strict conformance with the classification system<sup>1)</sup>, the serpent of the upperworld has been placed at the right side of the thunderbird, and the serpent of the underworld at its left side. They are the two halves of the double serpent, which among the Kwakiutl and many other tribes is conceived as a unity<sup>2)</sup>.

The thunderbird feeds on the whale. We meet with the same idea among the Kwakiutl<sup>3)</sup>. Usually, however, we are informed by the myths that it eats the sisiul<sup>4)</sup>; consequently the latter replaces the whale, and this is easily understood because both represent the power of the sea. Both are called the salmon of the thunderbird. Thus we read: "... the pole from which the thunderbird watches for his salmon, — whales and serpents"<sup>5)</sup>. Another thunderbird. Thus we read: "... the pole from which the thunderbird a sisiul out of its claws. When the latter reaches the ground it changes into a salmon<sup>6)</sup>. Also among the Kwakiutl the sisiul is the flash of lightning. There is a myth in which is mentioned "the lightning blanket" of the thunderbird, more precisely indicated as "the blanket of the woodworm of the upperworld"<sup>7)</sup>. This "woodworm" is nothing else than the sisiul, which is also referred to as "worm" in the ritual of the mamaqa, one of the winter societies<sup>8)</sup>.

The power of the thunderbird is represented in still another form of the serpent, but this will be discussed later on<sup>9)</sup>.

So we see how central a place the serpent occupies in the system, and how ambivalent its personality is. Henceforth we shall meet it in many roles, which partly seem to exclude each

1) Cp. the arrangement of sun and moon on the house in the upperworld.

2) E. g. among the Selish tribes: 8a, p. 855; 7a, p. 572, 629, 641.

3) 6, p. 376 and fig. 18 on p. 378.

4) 15, p. 191 and p. 451.

5) 12, p. 189.

6) 15, p. 482—483.

7) 12, p. 211.

8) 6, p. 485; cp. Chapter IV.

9) In Chapter VII.

other when we merely compare them as separate entities. They show an intelligible coherence, however, if we take notice of the serpent's character as a power which may work both for good and for evil, which may give and take life, which is the power of the god of light and is at the same time god of darkness itself. It is also the same thing as the mana of the religious system. The totem animals feed on its force. We noticed this with regard to the thunderbird and probably it is also the meaning of an interesting picture in Boas' chief treatise, on which are represented birds like raven, thunderbird, and crane, pecking the serpent<sup>1)</sup>. It is also the girdle of the Benefactor Qaneqelaku, who shuns the darkness, and in a certain myth it calls itself the force of its father Kwekwaxawe, who is partly identical with Qaneqelaku<sup>2)</sup>. The priests receive their power from it and the shamans perform their evil practices with the parts of its body<sup>3)</sup>. And finally it is also the supernatural power of wealth, and the coppers which occupy a central place in economic intercourse, are loaded with its force<sup>4)</sup>.

If we bear in mind all this, much of what follows will be clear at once. We shall see that the difficulties of the system may almost always be elucidated if we start from the point of view presented here.

1) 6, Plate 41.

2) See Chapter VI.

3) Cp. 84, p. 580; 19, p. 4 and p. 34 etc. "Healing-woman" is also the name for the serpent (see Chapter IV). In this book the term shaman is used in the sense of magician, quite differently, therefore, from the use of this word in ethnographical literature in America. The conceptions of shaman and priest should be sharply distinguished. Even if there are intermediate forms, even if we occasionally find both of them united in one person, the difference between them is fundamental. The activity of the shaman lies entirely within the sphere of bad magic (sorcery) and, when found out, is punished with death, for it means misusing the supernatural power. Among the Tlingit, one of the northern tribes, sorcery is regarded as having been instituted by the raven during his stay on earth (38, p. 292; cp. 57, p. 83). So we see that the power of sorcery is acknowledged as a real power, for it has a place in the system, it even originates from the central supernatural power. For this reason, indeed, it is dreaded so much.

The want of clearness and the confusion with regard to the conceptions of priest and shaman is to a great extent connected with those concerning religion and magic. It is especially the French school of ethnology, again, which has produced the most positive results with respect to this matter, although also their theories are, perhaps, not quite satisfactory. A thorough study of the religious system in general, and especially of such figures as the divine trickster, will deepen our insight into these problems.

4) See Chapter VIII.



### III. THE SERPENT AS GOD OF SEA AND UNDERWORLD.

Swan's observation regarding the lightning of the thunderbird showed already that among many tribes in this coast region the serpent is regarded as supernatural power. In the foregoing discussion its upperworld aspect as lightning was especially emphasized. At present we have to occupy ourselves with its place in sea and underworld.

We usually meet with the power of the sea by the name of Qomogwa, translated with "Wealthy" by the ethnographers. An extensive group of figures are connected with it, e. g. the whale (*delphinus orca*), the halibut, the sea lion, the frog, the sea gull, and, last not least, the serpent. So these form together what we have called a classificatory group, of which each member may separately represent the same aspect of the system.

We are not going to prove this association for all these figures. As a matter of fact, most of them will be met in connection with this aspect later on. The associations of the serpent, however, have to be fully discussed, as this figure is our chief concern. Well then, we trust being able to make acceptable the association and even the identity of Qomogwa and the Sisiul to the most obdurate antagonists of the classification theory exposed before. For what can be a more conclusive proof to those who believe in the paramount truth-producing power of the absolutely inductive method, than the fact that this association and this identification are explicitly stated in myth itself? Therefore we render this myth rather fully, the more so, as it brings to the front an additional problem which is a valuable illustration of our views expounded above.

This myth relates that a man, Qatenats, is desirous to acquire supernatural power, and therefore purifies himself in the river for four days. At the end of the fourth day he hears something rustle

in the salal bushes and throws a piece of bark at it. In order to understand what follows one must know that bark is the holy material out of which are manufactured many paraphernalia of the winter ritual. This bark contains supernatural power and, indeed, is accosted as "our Lord" in some rites<sup>1</sup>). Further the myth describes how Qatenats goes to the house of the god Qomogwa. He descends to the bottom of the sea by a big kelp and is taken into a house where many priests are treating a sick person, without finding the cause of the illness. "Qatenats saw a really stout man lying on his back in his seat. That was the chief, Wealthy (Qomogwa)". When he approaches he sees at once that the illness is caused by the piece of bark thrown by himself. Moreover, he perceives that the sick person is the sisiul. "Behold! he was the double-headed serpent". Qatenats frees the "serpent-man" of the bark and receives supernatural gifts from him, by means of which he becomes a powerful priest<sup>2</sup>).

So the association and the identification of Qomogwa and Sisiul are unshakably demonstrated by this myth. Perhaps many a reader, however, has been struck by a certain inconsistency which seems strange to our rationalistic thinking. We are told, *nota bene*, that Sisiul is wounded by a piece of bark whose supernatural power is after all the same as Sisiul's! Inconsistencies of this kind, however, are typical of the way in which the supernatural power is conceived. We find them in many religious systems and the one under discussion is full of them. And further, this phenomenon is closely connected with the conception that the supernatural power does not dominate the universe monistically and, consequently, cannot be represented as one unbroken whole. Nor, however, is dualism or pluralism accepted with all its implications, for ultimately everything is reduced to one power and one principle.

As might have been expected from what was reported about the serpent, lightning, and whale in the foregoing chapter, we also come across the serpent as supernatural power of the sea with many other coast tribes. Barbeau, in his book on the totem poles

1) 19, p. 68.

2) 14, p. 24 ff.

of the Gitskan, informs us that the two-headed monster, especially in canoe shape, is known along the whole coast. While discussing a double figure on such a totem pole, namely, he says: "these constitute the Double-headed monster derived from the Haida canoe called Double-headed (Larah-wawsuh)";... and a few pages further on: "The Larah-wawsuh monster is well known all over the North West Coast; it is called Sisiul farther south among the Kwakiutl and the Nootkas, and its mystic powers are supposed to cause death at sight"<sup>1</sup>). Boas too, in his brief characterization, relates about the sisiul that it is met with as a canoe: "... it may become a canoe which moves by the motion of the sisiul fins..."<sup>2</sup>). By taking this form as a starting-point for our inquiry we may discover quite a number of serpent figures with these tribes.

In the first place the sea god Gonaqadet of the Tlingit should be considered in this light. He is the chief of the sea animals and is very closely connected with the killerwhales (the orca's). He occupies an important place in the religious system and is frequently found on the famous "Chilkat blankets". That he is a similar figure as Qomogwa is evident from the fact that they both act as power of the sea in a myth which occurs among many tribes<sup>3</sup>). Emmons, in a paper on the above-mentioned blankets, observes that Gonaqadet also appears as a canoe. "The belief in the mythical being Gonaqadet occurs along the whole coast. He lives in the sea, and brings power and fortune to all who see him. Sometimes he rises out of the water as a beautifully painted house-front inlaid with the much-prized blue and green haliotis shell, again as the head of an immense fish or as an elaborately painted war-canoe"<sup>4</sup>).

Perhaps some readers will not admit that this complex of data is sufficient to justify the conclusion that we are dealing with a serpent. But also in this case we possess still clearer proofs. We obtain these by comparing different versions of the myth about

1) 4, p. 29 and p. 33.

2) 6, p. 372. In many myths the sisiul occurs as a canoe; cp. the enumeration of passages in 23, p. 832.

3) 23, p. 846.

4) 30, p. 330.

the girl who was abducted by the bears <sup>1)</sup>). The contents of this myth are as follows. A girl steps on bear dung and in doing this addresses a less flattering expression to the bears. For this reason she is enticed away by a bear passing itself off as a young man, to the place where the bears are living, and is forced to marry her abductor. After a while she runs away, but her flight is discovered. When the bears have almost overtaken her, she is saved by a man in a canoe. She has been obliged, however, to promise to become his wife. When we compare the different versions of this myth, it is obvious that, as regards this man in a canoe, we are always dealing with the same figure. It is true that there are some slight variations. Sometimes his canoe bites the bears to death, and sometimes his living club does so. In the Tsimshian version the canoe is the monster Was-on-each-side, which is identical with the sisiul <sup>2)</sup>). In other versions it is conceived in the shape of a bear. Everywhere it is expressly stated that the canoe is of copper. Copper and bear shape as we shall see, point to some connection with Qomogwa, as also, of course, does the fact that in the Tsimshian version the man is the two-headed serpent. In one of the Haida versions too the man is obviously the serpent. For it is told that, after killing the bears, he crawls on his new wife first as a serpent and afterwards as a frog <sup>3)</sup>). This proves conclusively that the man in the canoe is the serpent. But what has this to do with Gonaqadet? Our answer to this question is: at present our identification of Gonaqadet and the serpent is confirmed, for according to the Tlingit version, as it is given by Emmons <sup>4)</sup>) and the Wrangell myths <sup>5)</sup>), the man in the canoe is nobody else but Gonaqadet.

1) 23, p. 835 ff., where Boas gives a comparative survey of all the important elements of these myths according to the different versions.

2) This appears from several passages; according to 23, p. 59, the raven myth of the Tsimshian relates that the raven is made voracious by the married couple Mouth-at-each-end; according to 72, p. 198, it is the two-headed fish Laqaquwase (which, of course, is the same as Was-on-each-side; cp. 21, p. 106), which Boas himself identifies with the two-headed serpent. From 23, p. 59, is to be gathered that the serpent is bisexual; it is remarkable that the two parts of the serpent are at direct variance with each other, for one of the two wishes to guard the raven from gluttony.

3) 60, p. 505—506.

4) 30, p. 330: "Her rescuer was not human, but the benevolent sea spirit Gonaqadet".

5) 57, p. 128.

It is also evident from all this that the man and the canoe are conceived as identical. We shall meet with more examples of the same thing later on.

At present we have to return to Qomogwa in order to examine his second function viz. of god of the underworld. In one of Boas' Reports, among a number of notes on ideas and customs of the Kwakiutl, we read: "In the north of the world is the mouth of the earth. There the dead descend to the country of the ghosts" <sup>1</sup>). The North is also the direction in which the sea is flowing. "... the ocean is considered a stream running northward" is stated in the explanation of the name of the cannibal monster which we shall discuss in the next chapter <sup>2</sup>).

There is also a Tlingit conception which points to this connection between sea and underworld. They hold it that ebb and flood are caused by the underworld being filled up and emptied out alternately <sup>3</sup>). Therefore it is no wonder that the same power was thought to rule over the sea and the underworld. This view is explicitly uttered in the following myth, one of the most interesting, no doubt, of all Kwakiutl mythology <sup>4</sup>). The chief character in this myth is Qomqomgila, a name which here indicates the raven <sup>5</sup>), a figure occurring in the mythology of these tribes under many names and in many shapes. We have already come across it on the house in the underworld described before. In the present instance too it has some connection with the underworld. The first part of the myth relates how Qomqomgila, acting as chief of the raven clan Lelewagila <sup>6</sup>), acquires a wife who emits a strong smell of copper. She made her appearance in a peculiar way, namely as follows. In the territory of Qomqomgila a thunderbird had alighted on a sisiul, by which it had been turned to stone. Next morning a white bird, closely resembling a swan, was on the beak of the petrified animal, whose head was turned towards the sea.

1) 8 c, p. 579.

2) 6, p. 394. This also explains another statement of Boas, viz.: "North is called *up the river*, south *down the river*" (8 c, p. 579).

3) 7 c, p. 230.

4) 12, p. 60—86.

5) According to 7 c, p. 253, Qomqomgila is the second name of the raven Omeatl.

6) Cp. 6, p. 331: Lelewagila = the heaven makers (mythical name of raven).

After many purification rites Qomqomgila obtains the bird. The latter transforms itself into a beautiful virgin, whom, of course, he marries. She refuses to tell whence she comes and who she is, but finally she takes him in a supernatural canoe through the sea to the underworld, of which her father appears to be the chief. His name is Laqwagila, Copper-maker. It is expressly stated that this being is identical with Qomogwa, for the girl says to Qomqomgila: "His name is Copper Maker. It is he whom you called Qomogwa" <sup>1</sup>). Qomqomgila's wife and child use as food things which look like crab-apples, but which really are human eyes. So we have also arrived within the domain of cannibalism. The connection between the serpent and cannibalism, indeed, is the principal theme of the next chapter.

Everything with Laqwagila is of copper. The river near his house is full of salmon, one of the forms in which, as we saw, Sisiul often manifests itself. Very probably the self-moving canoe which the son-in-law receives among many other gifts is also the sisiul. One of these gifts is a grisly-bear mask, which is an important element in the cannibal ritual. This mask is one of the aspects of Qomogwa. In many places, namely, we find Qomogwa as a mountain spirit in the shape of a bear. And one of the Catloltq myths, which are closely connected with those of the Kwakiutl, relates the following about this mountain spirit Qomogwa: „Dieser pflegte im Gestalt eines grauen Bären auf dem Berge zu weilen. Er hatte dort eine grosse Metallkiste, in der er Kupferplatten, Ohrringe und andere Sachen bewahrte" <sup>2</sup>). So here again we meet the same association with wealth and possession which, indeed, is already implied by the very name Qomogwa, Wealthy. And now this bear shape of Qomogwa explains why in different versions the canoe of the sea god of the northern tribes, who obviously is a serpent just as Qomogwa, could be represented as

1) The identity of Laqwagila and Qomogwa is complete. Laqwagila is nothing but a second name of Qomogwa. We read, for example: "Qomogwa, the chief of the underworld" (15, p. 469); and: "that is Wealthiest (Qomogwa), Copper Maker (Laqwagila)" (15, p. 275; cp. also 14, p. 62, and 17, p. 271).

2) 76, p. 54; cp. 76, 235, and 10, p. 55, where it is mentioned that the cannibalistic spirit has Qominoqa (Rich-woman), who is a daughter of the mountain spirit Qomogwa, as his wife.

a bear. And it also explains why on various ritual objects we find a combination of bear and whale <sup>1)</sup>, and how the conception of the sea bear has come into existence <sup>2)</sup>.

This bear aspect of Qomogwa also appears in mythology as a separate figure under the name of Alakila (Skin-dresser). Just as Qomogwa he also gives evidence of a close connection with cannibalism. There is one myth which relates a good deal about him <sup>3)</sup>. As a bear he meets with an Indian and takes him to his home, which, as is to be expected, is situated in the mountains and gives access to the underworld. In the house are pictured many figures which we also find in the house of Qomogwa, e. g. the sea lion <sup>4)</sup> and the Dzonoqwa <sup>5)</sup>, a cannibal monster, and further also the thunderbird, which, like the serpent, is standing in relation to the upper- as well as to the underworld <sup>6)</sup>. The myth goes on to describe how Alakila initiates the Indian into the secrets of cannibalism. The connection with Qomogwa is also obvious from another place, which mentions Alakila as the chief of the "Magic Power Tribe" in the underworld <sup>7)</sup>. But of special importance is the situation in which Alakila appears in the above-mentioned myth of Qomqomgila <sup>8)</sup>. Before undertaking the journey to Qomogwa (Laqwagila) Qomqomgila first visits Alakila. He has not planned this himself. The idea entirely originates with his wife, namely the daughter of Alakila. She turns out to know exactly how the territory of Alakila is to be reached. It is situated very far to the East. After a long journey by land they finally arrive there. "Then they arrived at the edge of our world. Then the woman started, and she looked through a hole one span across". After that she urges her husband to shout through the hole and to ask whether there is any living being present. When

1) Cp. 6, p. 438, fig. 56.

2) See e. g. 61, p. 114, and 6, p. 363.

3) 12, p. 403—418.

4) Cp. 14, p. 62, and 15, p. 81.

5) Cp. 7 b, p. 400, 450.

6) Cp. 15, p. 273, and Chapter V.

7) 12, p. 377.

8) 12, p. 68—77.

he does not get any answer the first time, he becomes angry, but his wife says to him: "O fool! don't you know about obtaining something supernatural? Don't you always do everything four times? Now shout again". Then he shouts four times after which, really, appears Alakila. When the latter has learned what they are after, an exchange of gifts takes place. Alakila gives masks for the winter dance, a. o. for the sunrise dance and for other cannibal rites. But how great is Qomqomgila's disappointment when through the hole he receives his wife as a child in a cradle together with a chamber-pot and the advice not to spill anything! According to the version referred to at present, he is too lazy to drag child and cradle along and therefore just hands them back. But then it becomes evident that in doing this he has made a big mistake. He might have changed the child into a full-grown woman by sprinkling it with the contents of the chamber-pot, as Alakila now shows him<sup>1</sup>). "Then she grew up at once to be a really pretty woman". Now of course he is eager to possess her: "but Skin-Dresser said that there was no way for a grown-up person to go through this door, therefore all the women give birth to small children, for they must all come through there when they enter their mothers when they are with child". There is another version of this myth which is much shorter and a little different here and there<sup>2</sup>). Thus it is stated that Qomqomgila must marry the child, but nothing more is told about it. Further this version contains the very important statement that Laqwagila is chief of the North and Alakila is chief of the East. But especially the description of the territory of Alakila is uncommonly instructive. After relating that they have marched already far to the East into the country, it continues: „Endlich nach langer Wanderung kamen sie zu vier Seen und sahen ein grosses Loch im Boden, aus dem Morgens immer die Sonne hervorkommt". Qomqomgila's wife then informs him that they have arrived in the territory of Alakila.

It is obvious that Alakila is the god of the origin of life. In his

1) Urine is water of life; cp. 14, p. 208—209, where the father-in-law of the culture hero says to his daughter: "...your urine is the water of life".

2) 74, p. 455.



home land the sun makes its appearance out of the water, the underworld, and it is also there that originates the budding life of man. He is the other side of the god of the North, with whom, in a certain sense, he is identical or, in any case, forms a dual unity. Therefore Qomogwa's daughter takes her husband to him. What the rest of the passage means is not quite clear.

In another chapter we shall go into this double aspect of Qomogwa. As we shall see, it is intimately connected with the relation of life and death and with the significance of cannibalism in this respect<sup>1)</sup>.

We are hoping that we have sufficiently proved that the serpent is god of sea and underworld. Qomogwa, the god of sea and underworld, very clearly proved to be the serpent. The painting of the house in the underworld likewise pointed to a close relation of serpent and underworld. The following myth, in which the serpent obviously acts as chief of the underworld, may serve to bring out this close connection once more<sup>2)</sup>. It is the story of the big giant Food-giver who travelled all over the earth to fight. His second name is Stone-body, because his body is almost entirely of stone, so that he is almost invulnerable. The myth first relates how he acquired this. Once, while catching salmon, he saw a small white fish swimming, which proved to be the sisiul, when he speared it. When he came to, after having been unconscious for a while, he was on the bottom of the sea, surrounded by a number of sisiuls. The chief of these gave him a sisiul canoe and rubbed him with sisiul fat, by which his body, but for a few spots, turned to stone. After this he went back to the human world. He thought that he had been below one day, but it was a year. The name of the chief of the sisiuls proves that he had been in the underworld, for by this name, Bebenakaua, seems to be indicated in many texts the underworld<sup>3)</sup>.

1) See Chapter V.

2) 7 b, p. 410.

3) A. o. in 6, p. 412, and 8 b, p. 611.

#### IV. WINALAGILIS THE WAR GOD AND BAXBAKUALANUXSIWAE THE CANNIBAL MONSTER.

In what precedes we saw that the serpent belongs to the underworld as well as to the upperworld, but that he is specially associated with the underworld, so that he can function as ruler of this region.

It is the object of the present chapter to show that the two principal figures of the winter ritual likewise are closely connected with the serpent, so that the latter should be considered the central figure of the winter ritual. The real sense of this ritual is to be discussed in another chapter.

The winter ritual of the Kwakiutl is referred to by the Indians as the *tsetsaeqa* (secrets). This term relates to the period as well as to the ceremonies that take place during it. The opposite of the *tsetsaeqa* period is the *baxus* period, viz. the time of summer and its religious feasts and customs <sup>1)</sup>.

The winter period is the time of the ritual of the societies. The latter then replace the ordinary clan organization, which, although it does not wholly disappear, is unmistakably thrown into the background <sup>2)</sup>. The whole manner of living also undergoes a profound change. In summer the community lives scattered and life is busy but quiet, whereas in winter society contracts and leads an intensive communal life both in a socio-religious and in an economic sense. It is especially during this time that the potlatch occurs, with its distribution of gifts and its big feasts. The performance of sacred dances and rites is also a conspicuous feature of these ceremonial meetings <sup>3)</sup>.

This great change from one phase into another does not, of course, take place without any ceremonial emphasis. For some

1) 84, p. 614.

2) 1, p. 272.

3) 44, p. 89-90; 45, p. 126; 25, p. 118 ff.

time the community purifies itself and when, after this, all have assembled, the paraphernalia are taken out, and then the rubbing with charcoal and the ornamentation with the sacred cedar bark takes place <sup>1)</sup>). Now they have become: "slaves of the red cedar bark" <sup>2)</sup>), and have performed the transition from the baxus into the tsetsaeqa period. All are ready for the arrival of the tsetsaeqa spirit, Winalagilis, who is approaching from the North in order to pass the winter with the Indians <sup>3)</sup>). His arrival is announced by means of ceremonial flutes and also, among some tribes, by whirring-sticks, the sound of which represents the voice of Winalagilis <sup>4)</sup>).

Winalagilis is the central figure of the winter period <sup>5)</sup>). The red cedar bark is filled with his power <sup>6)</sup>) and the house of ceremonies is his dwelling <sup>7)</sup>). This bringer and ruler of the winter ceremonial is at the same time the god of war and therefore the societies come into operation when war campaigns are undertaken, even when it is not tsetsaeqa time. The cannibals, the bear dancers, and the fool dancers then act as the principal warriors and go into raptures as soon as they have killed an enemy. Boas especially has emphasized this connection with war and has also attempted to explain the origin of the societies from it <sup>8)</sup>). He did not realise, however, the identity of Winalagilis with the serpent and the sense of this identity in the religious system.

Now the question arises, who this Winalagilis really is. While characterizing briefly the main figures of the winter ritual Boas says about him: "The descriptions of this being are very indefinite. He is a warrior and lives in the far North. He travels about constantly and never leaves his canoe. So far as I am aware he is never represented in masks or other carvings" <sup>9)</sup>). The latter remark is quite striking to anybody who knows anything at all about

1) See e. g. 19, p. 57 ff.

2) 6, p. 593.

3) 6, p. 502, 510.

4) 6, p. 610.

5) 6, p. 664.

6) 6, p. 509; cp. 19, p. 128.

7) 19, p. 130.

8) 6, p. 664.

9) 6, p. 394.

the art of this region. Almost all the figures of the religious system are pictured *ad infinitum*; not only on ritual objects and rattles, but even on the most trivial articles of daily use. The explanation might be found in the strictly esoteric character of Winalagilis, if there was not abundant evidence of the contrary. As a matter of fact, the description of the cannibalistic performance in the house of Alakila does mention a mask of Winalagilis<sup>1)</sup>. So it is not true that Winalagilis is not pictured. The contrary is true, for he is the essential manifestation of the *sisiul*.

We have pointed out before that this *sisiul* very often occurs as a canoe. One might say of him, just as of Winalagilis: "He travels about constantly and never leaves his canoe", because the canoe is the serpent itself. The conclusion that Winalagilis and the *sisiul* form a unity, answers the question why we do not find pictures of Winalagilis and explains the fact that he never leaves his canoe. But what, then, is the meaning of the human head in the serpent? In the above-mentioned myth regarding the man who acquired supernatural power in the house of Qomogwa, the latter was found to be the "serpent-man"<sup>2)</sup>! Consequently if our hypothesis is right, there must be a certain identity between Winalagilis and Qomogwa. This is so, indeed. Winalagilis, like Qomogwa, is living in the far North, that means in the region of the underworld. And it is quite in accordance with this identification that in one myth there is spoken of: „der Geist des Tsetsaeka, der im Wasser wohnt"<sup>3)</sup>. It is evident that Winalagilis is really Qomogwa, namely a definite aspect of him. It is easy to realize that in a later phase of development of the pantheon which is coming into existence here, Alakila, Laqwagila, Qomogwa, and Winalagilis might have become separate figures: Alakila as god of origin and life, Laqwagila as god of the underworld, Qomogwa as sea god, and Winalagilis as god of war. But this phase has not yet been reached.

The unity of *Sisiul* and Winalagilis is also obvious in the rites of the societies which are most directly dependent on his guidance

1) 12, p. 414.

2) See Chapter III.

3) 7 c, p. 253.

and inspiration. In all of them the sisiul is the central figure<sup>1)</sup>. One of these societies is called mamaqa. It ranks highest among several Kwakiutl tribes<sup>2)</sup>. Its members possess the power to seize the sisiul and throw it amongst the enemies, causing their immediate death<sup>3)</sup>. Also in this society, but especially in the others, strong emphasis is laid on the fact that the members through the power of Winalagilis are insensible to wounds and cannot be killed, because he is the ruler over life and death. This idea is most predominant in the hawinalal dance, the true war dance, in which Winalagilis is represented as the Milky-way, to which the dancer is pulled up<sup>4)</sup>. As the power of Winalagilis, i. e. the sisiul, keeps hold of him, the dancer does not fall down. The material representation of this idea is very plastic. A beam, which is high above the ground, represents the Milky-way. The ropes which have been pulled through the back and the thighs of the hawinalal, are passed round this beam; thereupon the dancer is pulled up by them, so that he is floating high in the air under the beam. The fooldancers stand beneath him with their lances pointing up, so that it should cause his death if he should fall. But according to the views of these Indians, this does not happen because the serpent holds him. They think, namely, that the ends of the ropes attached to the beam are serpent heads which bite in the dancer's flesh, and in this way keep hold of him. In order to show that he is also insensible to wounds, the hawinalal, who wears a sisiul girdle, stabs himself with a knife also representing the sisiul, so that the blood is streaming down. The connection with the Milky-way also becomes clear in the song of this dance: "I was hung up and moved under the Milky-way of the sky", as one of the lines runs<sup>5)</sup>. In this dance we clearly see the importance of the sisiul with regard to the notion which is formed of Winalagilis. And on the whole the identity of the sisiul and Winalagilis has now become evident.

We find this Winalagilis to be very closely connected, not only

1) 6, p. 394.

2) 6, p. 500.

3) 6, p. 485. In this dance the sisiul is represented by a worm.

4) Cp. 19, p. 112—121; 6, p. 496.

5) 19, p. 113.

with the Milky-way, but also with the moon. This is no wonder either, since we have determined the connection with the sisiul. While discussing the figures on the house in the upperworld we clearly saw an analogy between the antitheses moon-sun and serpent-thunderbird. In the quotation that follows we do not only meet this connection of Winalagilis and the moon, but also the association with cannibalism, which plays such a preponderating role in the winter ritual. The quotation explains the significance ascribed by Boas to the head ring of one of the hamatsa <sup>1)</sup>. Boas, then, states: "The head ring is meant to symbolise the moon, and the decrease in the size of the ring is said to signify the waning of the moon. When the hamatsa returns, a bloody line runs over his face, beginning on the cheeks, coming up toward the nose, which it crosses on its upper portion. It is said to designate the moon. The line is made by rubbing the face with dogfish skin. It is said that this line indicates the effect of Winalagilis' canoe which rubbed against the face of the novice" <sup>2)</sup>. In other words: the hamatsa novice, who returns from his initiation, has during this sacred period met with the canoe of Winalagilis and takes the signs of this canoe along with him on his face. The bloody line in which that sign consists, is also the symbol of the moon.

The combination of Cannibalism, Moon, and Winalagilis is not only found with the Kwakiutl, but also with the Tsimshian. There the spirit of the cannibal society Olala is called Haialilaqs, and in the myths this being also proves to be the supernatural power of the moon <sup>3)</sup>. This therefore shows us the combination of Moon and Cannibalism. What, now, has this to do with Winalagilis? Some indication of the connection is already given by the fact that the same word Olala among some Kwakiutl tribes refers to one of the societies of Winalagilis <sup>4)</sup>. But absolutely conclusive is the circumstance that the name Haialilaqs also occurs among the Kwakiutl and even *originates* with this tribe (through the Bella Bella tribes, namely) and functions there as the second name of

1) The hamatsa are the highest of the cannibals; cp. 8a, p. 850.

2) 6, p. 455.

3) 23, p. 546; 23, p. 188 ff.; 7c, p. 201—202.

4) Namely the one of the toxuit among the Lalasiqoala: 6, p. 492.

Winalagilis! Thus we read about the above-mentioned whirring-sticks, representing the voice of Winalagilis: "The noise of these sticks is supposed to be the voice of Haialilaqs or Winalagilis..."; and also elsewhere we often find these names in use as two names of the same figure<sup>1</sup>). The translation of the word Haialilaqs at the same time gives us a deeper insight into the character of Winalagilis. Boas derives the term from "Haialila", and adds: "Haialila means literally: making well, and is the term for the spirit of the pestilence among the Kwakiutl tribes... The ending -qs is the Bella Bella form indicating a female of a certain tribe or people. The whole may therefore be translated as: pestilence-woman"<sup>2</sup>). This information brings to the front two striking facts. Firstly, that the name may be interpreted in a favourable and in an unfavourable sense. For the ordinary translation is "Healing-woman"; usually Winalagilis is meant with the English term<sup>3</sup>). But on the other hand it is the name of the pestilence, consequently: "Pestilence-woman". This ambivalence is in perfect accordance with the fact that the serpent is the power of both the priest and the shaman. The above-mentioned mamaqa, by means of their sisiul, are able to throw disease and perdition into their enemies, but they are also the powerful healers, who can take away the cause of the disease<sup>4</sup>). Winalagilis is master of life and death. The secret of the whole winter ritual is enclosed in this. He is mostly invoked as Healing-woman and Long-life-maker, but also the following quotation has reference to him: "... what makes life short; that is our Lord...", for it is evident from the context that the power of the winter ritual is meant<sup>5</sup>).

As regards the meaning of the word Haialilaqs it is not less striking that this name refers to a woman! For elsewhere the texts mention the "serpent-man", and also Boas always regards Winalagilis as a male being. Since we know, however, that the conception of bisexuality of the serpent is widely-spread all over

1) 19, p. 130, 137; 6, p. 567.

2) 23. p. 546.

3) Cp. 19, p. 137.

4) 8a, p. 852; cp. 19, p. 1-41.

5) 6, p. 618.

the world<sup>1)</sup>, we need not wonder, really, that we come across the same idea with regard to the sisiul. We have already previously pointed out in a note that in Tsimshian mythology the serpent Mouth-at-each-end is also bisexual. In one text it is found as a married couple; elsewhere, on the contrary, it is embodied in one single figure<sup>2)</sup>. This bisexuality is also in perfect conformity with the doubleness which we have already found to be in many ways incident to the conception of the serpent. And lastly all this again confirms the identification of Sisiul and Winalagilis. Unless we take this as our starting-point, it is impossible to understand that second name of Winalagilis.

In the foregoing discussion we have frequently come in touch with cannibalism. Its special demon is Baxbakualanuxsiwae. In what follows it is our intention to demonstrate that this Baxbakualanuxsiwae personates a definite aspect of Winalagilis in a separate figure, and may also himself represent the serpent.

The existence of a close relation between both these figures might be expected beforehand. For Winalagilis is the power of the whole winter ritual and, consequently, although indirectly perhaps, of cannibalism, which forms the most important part of it. The cannibals, moreover, were found to act as functional groups in the war expeditions under the leadership of Winalagilis as the god of war. We have still more data suggestive of a close connection between Winalagilis and cannibalism; e. g. in the passage about the significance of the hamatsa ring. And we saw that the Tsimshian conceived Haialilaqs, who is identical with Winalagilis, as the cannibal spirit.

Just as Winalagilis, so also Baxbakualanuxsiwae is living in the far North, that means in the region of the underworld. His name means: "the first one to eat man at the mouth of the river; i. e. in the north, because the ocean is considered a stream running northward"<sup>3)</sup>; in more recent literature therefore we find the translation: "Cannibal at the North end of the World"<sup>4)</sup>.

1) See e. g. 52.

2) Chapter III.

3) 6, p. 394.

4) For example, 19, p. 105.



A number of figures, after which the greater part of the cannibal societies have been named, are grouped around him. Two of them are female beings, whose task it is to gather food for the cannibal. One of them also acts as his wife. She is called Qominoqa (Rich-woman), and is no less a woman than the daughter of Qomogwa<sup>1</sup>). So Baxbakualanuxsiwae is the son-in-law of Qomogwa, the sisiul. It should be kept in mind that mythical genealogies do not express anything else but the existence of some connection between certain personalities; the character of such a connection has to be ascertained from other data. It should not by any means be confused with an ordinary kinship relation. In the same mythical system we may, for example, meet with two figures sometimes as brothers, sometimes as father-in-law and son-in-law, and again, perhaps, as two names of the same personality.

In the present instance this relation in any case expresses a close connection between Baxbakualanuxsiwae and the serpent. It is not impossible that we have to regard Qominoqa as the female, and Baxbakualanuxsiwae as the male aspect of the serpent. It is e. g. a significant indication that one text explains the bloody line on the face of the novice as the doings of Baxbakualanuxsiwae<sup>2</sup>), whereas it is usually ascribed to contact with the canoe of Winalagilis, or in other words, to the serpent. Also in other respects Baxbakualanuxsiwae and Winalagilis are found to alternate. According to one song the hamatsa are returning from Baxbakualanuxsiwae<sup>3</sup>), and in another they are said to come out of the canoe of Winalagilis<sup>4</sup>).

The conformity between Winalagilis, the Serpent, and Baxbakualanuxsiwae is especially clear in the meaning attached to the so-called cannibal pole. On this pole, which is one of the essential elements of the cannibalistic ritual, are usually pictured different figures (like Raven, Wolf, Bear, and suchlike), while Baxbakualanuxsiwae himself is often sitting on top of it<sup>5</sup>). The cannibals

1) 6, p. 394; 74, p. 235; 10, p. 55.

2) 6, p. 595.

3) e.g. 6, p. 457, 579, etc.

4) 6, p. 455, 459, etc. The hamatsa, during their absence, are in the underworld, 6, p. 568.

5) 6, p. 446; 16, p. 856.

are climbing up and down this pole and by so doing become one with the cannibal spirit<sup>1)</sup>). In one of the hamatsa songs we read this line: "You were led to his cannibal pole, which is the Milky-way of our world"<sup>2)</sup>). In the hawinalal dance the Milky-way, as we saw, was the serpent Winalagilis; so probably the cannibal pole also represents the serpent. In one text, indeed, this pole is consistently accosted as Healing-woman<sup>3)</sup>). Another suggestive piece of evidence is the following. The house of Baxbakualanuxsiwae, which contains the cannibal pole, representing not only the Milky-way, but also the rainbow, has a cosmic significance. In several songs it is referred to as "our world"<sup>4)</sup>). For this reason Baxbakualanuxsiwae is occasionally called "centre of the earth" and "post of our world"<sup>5)</sup>). The latter expression is also found in a song of one of the societies which are under the direct inspiration of Winalagilis. The novice, in his initiation period, has become acquainted with Winalagilis' canoe, as is shown by the bloody line on his face. In his song he relates that he has met with the "dancing pole of our world", after which the public answers: "Hold upright the great post in the middle of the world"<sup>6)</sup>). So Baxbakualanuxsiwae and the canoe of Winalagilis are referred to in the same manner. Both are the serpent, which connects heaven and earth and therefore may be the flash of lightning as well as the rainbow<sup>7)</sup>), while as the Milky-way it is thought to be in the centre of the sky.

The connection with the serpent is also obvious from the masks of Baxbakualanuxsiwae. According to Jacobsen one of the most common masks resembles a crocodile<sup>8)</sup>). The same thing is said of the sisiul canoe among the Tsimshian<sup>9)</sup>).

It is in conformity with the above-mentioned connection between the moon and cannibalism that we rather frequently come upon

1) See especially 15, p. 431 ff.

2) 6, p. 459.

3) 19, p. 106.

4) 6, p. 459.

5) 6, p. 586; cp. 6, 457.

6) 6, p. 492.

7) 6, p. 459.

8) 33<sup>a</sup>, p. 983.

9) 22, p. 159.

descriptions of the moon and the serpent as pictures on the sacred room of the cannibal<sup>1)</sup>). Sometimes the moon figure contains a frog, which, again, is suggestive of the serpent, because the sea god of the Haida, as we saw, could transform himself into both a frog and a serpent<sup>2)</sup>).

Baxbakualanuxsiwae, the son-in-law of Qomogwa, is also closely connected with the latter's other son-in-law, whom we have met before, viz. with the raven. One of the cannibal masks represents this raven on top of the sisiul<sup>3)</sup>). But also alone it often occurs as a mask in the cannibalistic ritual<sup>4)</sup>). It is one of the chief animals of Baxbakualanuxsiwae, with whom it shows a certain identity. In the mythology of the northern tribes one of the most conspicuous features in the raven myth, which there occupies by far the most important place, is the great voracity of the raven. Now the Tsimshian myth clearly proves that this voracity has been caused by the serpent<sup>5)</sup>). As regards the Kwakiutl the relation to the serpent is already demonstrated by the above-mentioned mask, but may also be concluded from the fact that the raven is found on the house in the underworld, consequently in the territory of Qomogwa. It is often met with not only as the doorway of Qomogwa's house<sup>6)</sup>), but also as that of the room of cannibals in the ceremonial house<sup>7)</sup>). In this respect it alternates with Baxbakualanuxsiwae, as is also the case in two different versions of one myth. Once the raven acts as a cannibal, and in the other instance Baxbakualanuxsiwae does<sup>8)</sup>). In its cannibalistic form the raven has a name which closely resembles Baxbakualanuxsiwae's, viz. Qoaoxualanuxsiwae<sup>9)</sup>). With a view to the origin myth of an important rite of the winter ritual, to be discussed in the next chapter, the connection between Baxbakualanuxsiwae and the wolf should also be pointed out here. The wolf,

1) 12, p. 182; 16, p. 1006, 1246.

2) Chapter III.

3) 6, p. 470, fig. 105.

4) For example, 6, p. 447, fig. 76, and plate 31.

5) 23, p. 59.

6) 6, p. 449; in other passages it is a sea monster, cp. 74, p. 475.

7) 6, p. 446; cp. plate 29.

8) 74, p. 57, 336.

9) 6, p. 394.

just as the raven, was found on the house in the underworld, and occupied the same place there as did the thunderbird on the house in the upperworld, that is to say, it was standing on top of the *sisiul*<sup>1)</sup>). In Kwakiutl mythology its great importance is also obvious; yet it is less central here than among the more southerly tribes. As Seler observes, among the Nootka it probably occupies the place which *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* has with the Kwakiutl<sup>2)</sup>). In the winter ritual of the Kwakiutl wolf dances do occur, but they are less central ceremonially, than several other dances<sup>3)</sup>). A thorough study of the wolf's position in the mythology of the southern tribes might contribute to the elucidation of many passages in Kwakiutl mythology. Summarizing, we may conclude that actually the serpent is the central figure of the winter ritual. An intimate relation proved to exist between *Winalagilis*, Moon, and Cannibalism, and the specifically cannibalistic spirit *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* of the Kwakiutl made itself known as an aspect of *Winalagilis* and also, consequently, of the serpent. And, finally, we discovered a connection with the raven and the wolf, without, however, being able to determine the latter's place sufficiently. For the sake of clearness we are leaving out the relations with still other figures<sup>4)</sup>). On the other hand, it can only serve to clarify matters, if we just give a brief account of the ideas of the *Bella Coola* concerning cannibalism. Here, namely, the connection between cannibalism and the serpent is much more directly tangible.

These *Bella Coola*, one of the neighbours of the Kwakiutl, show much which is parallel and even identical with what we found among the Kwakiutl. Their system likewise presents itself as

1) 16, p. 1119.

2) 54, p. 41.

3) 6, p. 447 ff.

4) One of the most important of them, besides the bear, is the cannibalistic *Dzonoqwa*, who is usually represented as a female, but occasionally also as a male being (e.g. 12, p. 199). On her house is the *sisiul* (15, p. 53) and her close association with the serpent is also apparent from her occurring on the "cannibal pole" (15, p. 433) and in the house of *Qomogwa* (7b, p. 450; cp. 7b, p. 400). Like the latter, the *Dzonoqwa* is a land being (*Dzonoqwa* of the woods: 12, p. 88 ff.) and a water-being (*Dzonoqwa* of the sea: 16, p. 816; 7c, p. 393). In some myth it is related that the parts of her destroyed body changed into frogs (7c, p. 462).

a pantheon in its infancy; only, its development has progressed a little farther <sup>1)</sup>). This fact, which shows itself in a more systematic arrangement of the numerous figures, implies, however, that it is less easy to reconstruct the original scheme. But this is not what we intend to do. The circumstance that several figures are the same here as with the Kwakiutl, suffices for our parallel.

We find the sisiul in the uppermost heaven. According to the conception of the Bella Coola, namely, there are two upperworlds and two underworlds, while the earth is represented as an island in the sea. In the uppermost heaven resides the goddess Qamaits, whose house is in the far East. The sisiul is living in the saltwater pond behind this house, and according to Boas owes its supernatural character to the fact that the goddess bathes in this pond <sup>2)</sup>). Probably the goddess is the female aspect of the serpent. It is told of her, as of Winalagilis, that she was travelling about in a canoe to fight. She is therefore characterized as a great warrior. If she is a serpent, we also understand her place in a mythical description of the cannibal initiation communicated by Boas. In this description Baexolla is mentioned as the initiator proper. He lives in the back part of the house of the gods, which is situated in the lower heaven; Senx, the sun, together with the equally powerful Alkuntam, is the chief of it. According to the description the aspirant-cannibal came to this being Baexolla, after which the following events took place: "He put a snake into his body (i. e. the novice's), which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it" <sup>3)</sup>). In other words: by means of the initiation the novice becomes one with the serpent and really it is not the novice, but the serpent within him that performs the cannibalistic act. In Bella Coola mythology this mystic union of novice and serpent is much more clearly expressed than in the pertinent Kwakiutl myths, but the Kwakiutl, without doubt, have the same conception. The bites, indeed, were formerly considered very honorable.

1) 20, p. 28 ff.

2) 20, p. 44,

3) 20, p. 34.

Dunn, one of the oldest describers of the cannibal ritual, even reports that those who did not possess any scars as a result of this biting, made some themselves. Those who died from the often very large wounds, were regarded as more or less holy<sup>1)</sup>.

After the union with the serpent the initiation of the novice was not yet finished. Baexolla then took him to Qamaitis in the uppermost heaven. She sprinkled him with water from the sisiul pond by which he became very strong. This sojourn in the uppermost heaven was afterwards described in his song<sup>2)</sup>.

So we have seen that also in the system of the Bella Coola the serpent occupies a central place. The relation between Qamaitis and Baexolla reminds us of the one between Winalagilis and Baxbakualanuxsiwae. The problem of the relation between upperworld and underworld which presents itself in this connection, will be discussed in its proper place.

1) 31, p. 536.

2) 20, p. 35.

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## V. LIGHT AND DARKNESS; LIFE AND DEATH.

The significance of a ritual is best understood if we acquire insight into the sense of its origin myths. Therefore we begin this chapter with the discussion of two of such myths. Both refer to cannibalism; the first one concerns the sunrise dance, and the second one is to explain the origin of cannibalism in general. We shall see, as regards their significance, that they are closely related to each other. In the sunrise dance of the cannibals (the so-called nanaquauualil dance) they often make use of a double mask representing a cannibal figure on the front- as well as on the backside<sup>1)</sup>. In the song of the dance, again, the intimate relation of Cannibalism and Serpent is indicated<sup>2)</sup>. It runs as follows.

"I am coming, crying hap on the beach! I, the supernatural one. I am coming out of Winalagilis's canoe, the hamatsa mask on my forehead, the winter dance mask on my forehead".

It is clear that the dancer who utters the cannibal cry "hap", relates that he is coming out of the serpent. He represents the sun which has passed through the serpent and is now rising, as will become evident from the significance of the origin myth. The latter is nothing else but a definite form of the tale concerning the raven which produced the sun, occurring among all these tribes<sup>3)</sup>. This tale is most essentially a myth, for the liberation of the sun took place in the primeval time, when human beings and animals were still unseparated. Darkness reigned everywhere; it was only known that, somewhere, daylight was kept hidden. According to our version, a woman, Nenalaatseqa, was keeping this daylight, viz. the sun, in a box. We learn from a comparison with other texts that this name means Day-receptacle-woman, and that it may also refer to the sea gull<sup>4)</sup>. We have previously

1) 6, p. 480, fig. 126.

2) 6, p. 473.

3) 6, p. 410—411. Boas gives a comparison of the raven myths in 23, p. 621 ff.

4) 15, p. 233.

mentioned this bird among the classificatory group of Qomogwa, on whose house it occurs rather frequently<sup>1)</sup>; and there is also a Haida text which compares the sea god with it<sup>2)</sup>). The course of events in our myth makes it quite evident that here it is really the serpent. Then we can also explain why another text mentions this Nenalaatseqa as a man. Boas, likewise, points out that we are dealing with the same figure by referring us to this myth<sup>3)</sup>.

The raven in this myth is called Kuexalalagilis, which means "Counsellor-of-the-world"<sup>4)</sup>. He goes forth to liberate the sun. The way in which this is done is almost everywhere the same<sup>5)</sup>. He causes himself to be born as a child in the house where the sun is kept, and afterwards keeps crying until he is allowed to play with the sun box. By transforming himself into his proper shape or by taking the box into a swift canoe, as happens in this version, he manages to escape with the sun. The end of the myth is so important that we shall cite the greater part of it. First we are told that an old man at once realised that it was Kuexalalagilis who stole the sun. But the culprit was already very far away. "As soon as Kuexalalagilis had rounded the point, he opened the box. Then he took out the sun and removed his sisiul mask. It grew light at once. The sun spoke: O, friend! do not keep me! Let me go to the upperworld, for now I will try to benefit our world. It will be day now. You have my sisiul mask. Thus spoke the sun". A moment afterwards he says to the raven: "My friend! treat my sisiul mask well. You may show it during the winter dance, and also the sunrise mask. Its name shall be Extsumatuselagilis (Abalone-shell-from-one-end-of-the-world-to-the-other). That is all. Thus spoke the sun and bid farewell to Kuexalalagilis. Then he went to the upperworld". What especially strikes us in this quotation is, of course, the fact that the sun, when it did not yet show itself, was hidden under the sisiul, and further that it speaks about *my sisiul mask*, which implies the

1) 76, p. 400. The existence of a relation between the sea gulls and Qomogwa also appears from, 14, p. 68—69.

2) 59, p. 110.

3) 6, p. 592.

4) 12, p. 393.

5) Cp. 23, p. 641 ff.



existence of a close relation between itself and the serpent. Not only from this version, but also from other myths concerning the liberation of the light it appears to be the *sisiul* which was hiding the sun. Among one of the more northerly Kwakiutl tribes, *Menis* is the keeper of the sun<sup>1</sup>). We also come across *Menis* in one of the versions of a wide-spread myth describing the journey across the sea to the land lying far in the West<sup>2</sup>). In *Menis*' home, just as with *Qomogwa*, the seals function as domestic animals, and human eyes are used as food. Even if *Menis* is not identical with the serpent, he yet belongs to the same classificatory group.

It is particularly interesting that in Nootka mythology, the Moon acts as keeper of the Sun<sup>3</sup>). In the foregoing chapter we saw that the serpent and the moon are closely connected, so that the serpent could represent the moon, and among the Tsimshian the moon god *Haialilaqs* appeared to be identical with the serpent *Winalagilis*. Moon and Serpent both are figures of the underworld and of the night. This explains why, in one of the Kwakiutl myths, the dead are once found not with *Qomogwa*, but on the moon<sup>4</sup>); so close is the connection thought to exist between the underworld and the moon. The combination of Serpent and Moon was also evident from the association of Moon and Frog which we met on the sacred room of the cannibals. Therefore *Seler* was certainly right when he explained a double rattle having a face with a bird of prey's beak as a nose on one side and a face with a frog in its mouth on the other as a combination of Sun and Moon<sup>5</sup>). We may conclude from this rattle that the Moon and the Sun together form a unity. The Moon represents the other side of the Sun. It is the nocturnal sun and the sun in the underworld. The *Catloltq*, a neighbouring tribe of the Kwakiutl, whose myth concerning the mountain spirit *Qomogwa* has already been cited, do not even distinguish sun and moon by name. „Es ist von Wichtigkeit dass bei ihnen Mond und Sonne sprachlich nicht differenziert

1) 7 c, p. 444.

2) 7 c, p. 453.

3) 23, p. 888.

4) 7 c, p. 473. Both of them also occur in the myths as givers of herrings, cp. 15, p. 237; 12, p. 367; 7 c, p. 466.

5) 54, p. 29; cp. 3, Tafel 5, fig. 2 and 2 a.

ist, sondern dass sie Tag- und Nacht-Sonne genannt werden", reports Boas<sup>1)</sup>. Also the serpent may express this aspect of the sun. The sun, indeed, mentioned *its own* sisiul mask, and for this reason the backside of the sun rattle shows the moon with a frog in its mouth.

Now the question arises: what do the masks and the song of this nanaquauallil dance mean? The dancer says in his song that he has come out of Winalagilis' canoe, that is, out of the serpent. While discussing the figure of Alakila, which appeared to be the eastern aspect of the serpent Qomogwa and the god of young life, we saw that the sun arises out of the water in his territory. Seeing that the serpent represents the sea, we cannot reject the possibility that here we are dealing with the same idea which we know from ancient Egypt, namely, the mystical conception that at night the sun disappears into the serpent in the West, and at morning arises from it in the East. That the Kwakiutl actually knew this conception, is already suggested by their idea that in the primeval time the sun was hidden under the serpent. But it is clearly proved by the following Catloltq myth, which, according to Boas, belongs to a group of myths dealing with the coming into existence of a new sun. This myth describes the god of heaven and his sons-in-law. When all his attempts to kill them have failed, he tries to make use of the two-headed serpent, which is here called Aihos, but the latter devours the god of heaven himself. Another version states that the father of these sons-in-law also represents the sun<sup>2)</sup>. Obviously the story is a mythical periphrasis of the sun's renewal through the serpent. Now we also understand why the nanaquauallil mask can have such a form as the one described. The two cannibalistic figures merely represent the heads of the serpent. And the dancer, as the name of the dance already indicates, represents the rising sun, which has passed through the serpent and, by doing this, has in a sense become one with the serpent. We have found the same situation with regard to Alakila, who was the god of the rising sun and a cannibal at the same time. This is the reason why the

1) 9b, p. 12.

2) 9a, p. 300; 7b, p. 37 ff.

song relates that the dancer (i. e. the sun) has come out of the serpent and shouts the cannibal cry! Also the following is probably connected with this. In the hamatsa ritual of one of the Kwakiutl tribes, mention is made of a head ring of Noaqala, certain parts of which represent the stars and the frontside the sun<sup>1)</sup>. This name Noaqala is perhaps closely related to nanaquualil<sup>2)</sup>, the name of the sunrise dance. In that case it would refer to the cannibalistic sun, as is in perfect accordance with its head ring.

We probably again meet this Noaqala, as Noaqaua, in the second origin myth, which gives an explanation of cannibalism in general, and which occurs among almost all the tribes. The contents of this myth are as follows. The sons of Noaqaua, in one or two versions Noaqaua himself<sup>3)</sup>, get into the house of Baxbakualanuxsiwae, where they find the latter's wife, who, later on, proves to be Noaqaua's own daughter. She calls her husband when the visitors take to flight, and then they are pursued and barely escape Baxbakualanuxsiwae. Thereupon Noaqaua and his sons manage to secure Baxbakualanuxsiwae by cunning and to kill him. Noaqaua's daughter, Baxbakualanuxsiwae's wife, now teaches them the cannibalistic ritual, after which they become cannibals themselves<sup>4)</sup>!

It should be observed that here Noaqaua acts as father-in-law of Baxbakualanuxsiwae, which, as we saw, was also the case with Qomogwa. In another myth he proves to have power over the tides, and to possess the morning-sky mask and a festive dish in the shape of a frog, while he gives away not only cannibal names as gifts, but is also a cannibal himself<sup>5)</sup>. His identity with the serpent is still more obvious from a myth given by Jacobsen as the origin myth of the Kusiut ritual among the Bella Coola<sup>6)</sup>, which, according to Boas, corresponds to the tsetsaeqa among the Kwakiutl<sup>7)</sup>. In this myth he does not occur as Noaqaua, but as

1) 6, p. 595.

2) Noaqaua (probably=Noaqala) is, however, translated with Wisest-one. Possibly, the meaning sunrise dance of nanaquualil is a secondary interpretation.

3) 7 c, p. 235.

4) 16, p. 1235 ff.

5) 12, p. 226—227; cp. 6, p. 595, where Noaqala is mentioned as a cannibal.

6) 33 b, p. 437—441.

7) 6, p. 646.

Noakinem. The perfect identity of these two is also evident from the fact that each of them forms a certain dual unity with a third figure, viz. Masmassalanik<sup>1)</sup>). The myth begins as follows. „Der Beherrscher der Unterwelt, der mächtige Noakinem, welcher weit im fernen Westen, jenseits des Meeres, in einem Lande wohnt, in dem sich die Lachse während der Winterzeit aufhalten, wendet sich im Monat Dezember nach Osten wo er den gewaltigen Gott Alkondam (auch Mess-mess-salanik genannt), der über den Wolken im Aufgang der Sonne wohnt, besuchen will“. This journey is made in a canoe. Boas, in his article on the Bella Coola, mentions this Noakinem as Noaknem. In his treatise, however, this name does not refer to the god, but to the canoe in which, towards winter, the whole house of the gods is transported from the West to the East<sup>2)</sup>). In the system we know only one figure which is the god in the canoe and the canoe itself, at the same time, viz. the serpent. So Noaqaua is found to be identical with Qomogwa. Like the latter, he is the father-in-law of Baxbakualanuxsiwae and is the chief of the underworld, where, just as in the home of Qomogwa (Laqwagila), are the salmon. He likewise has a separate figure which represents his eastern aspect, while it is connected with the rising sun, viz. Masmassalanik. Therefore Noaqaua owns the morning-sky mask besides the festal dish in the shape of a frog. The connection between Masmassalanik and Noaqaua is so close that it is possible for Masmassalanik to replace the latter in one of the Bella Bella versions of the origin myth just treated<sup>3)</sup>).

What, now, is the significance of this origin myth? According to Seler, Noaqaua (or his sons, which comes to the same thing) represents the sun which is in imminent danger of being swallowed up by the monster of darkness, but which appears from the combat triumphant<sup>4)</sup>). This explanation is surely right, but Seler's view of the problem was a little too simple as a result of his being taken up too much with nature-mythology. He did not even try to solve the problem who Noaqaua really is, and why, afterwards,

1) Concerning Noaqaua and Masmassalanik may be consulted: 92, p. 125; 76, p. 449.

2) 20, p. 41.

3) 18, p. 57.

4) 54, p. 16.

he also shows himself as a cannibal. The foregoing discussion, however, has furnished us the means of solving this paradox, or rather, of acquiring insight into the sense of this paradox. We saw that the serpent, like the moon, could serve as a representation of the nocturnal aspect of the sun, of the sun in the underworld. In our myth, therefore, Noaqaua may represent the sun starting for the East in order to rise to the upperworld. Baxbakualanuxsiwae, the demon of darkness, which likewise represents the serpent, pursues the sun and threatens to devour it. But he is no match for the sun, which therefore is able to arise from the underworld. We saw, however, that Alakila, who was the god of the rising sun and of young life, also was a cannibal. The same is true of Noaqaua, who is also the serpent and, consequently, the master both of life and of death. The birth of the new requires the previous expiring of the old. The whole winter ritual, indeed, is nothing but an extensive rebirth rite, in which the powers of death and darkness come to the front, but ultimately are unable to hold their own against life and light. The secret of the ritual consists in the conception that life and light do not come into being without death and darkness, so that both these aspects not only *may*, but even *must* be united. It is the paradox of monism and dualism combined, a paradox turning up again and again, which we are also meeting here. Seler, without fathoming the system in its essential form, has perceived by subtle intuition that the combination of these two aspects is an important element of the ritual. He especially tried to point out the significance of the rattles. According to him the figures in them express both aspects. Without accepting his detailed explanation of these ceremonial objects, we may acknowledge that, as far as his leading idea is concerned, he was certainly right. Now we also understand why the sunrise dance occupies a place in the cannibalistic ritual, and why the raven, although it also belongs to the underworld (if only partly, as we shall see), may act as liberator of the light. Light has come out of darkness, that is to say, not only by gaining the victory over darkness, but also because darkness was hiding light within itself. So we are taught by the myth of the deliverance of light in primeval times. What has happened then, is still repeat-

ing itself every day. The great crises, however, really are the transitions from autumn to winter and from winter to spring. In these periods nature and life are in danger of perishing, and the victory of the powers of darkness seems all but certain. But ultimately light and life triumph, in the ritual as well as in nature. Also in the community life of these Indians these periods are critical times. The whole society is concerned with the big feasts of the potlatch. In the rites they realise how life is repeatedly threatened by the powers of darkness, and in the potlatch their social position is repeatedly endangered because at any moment the antagonist may succeed in displaying greater power and ousting the other from his place.

The ritual rebirth does not only concern the Cosmos as a whole, but also the Community. The cannibalistic groups are not only reborn by the serpent, but also act as serpents themselves, and as such renovate society in their turn. Formerly this was represented in a very drastic way by the devouring of murdered slaves. Evidently the latter were functioning as members of the community, for occasionally corpses of relatives were used<sup>1)</sup>. The same significance is to be ascribed to the act of biting performed by several members of the community. In the old description by Dunn we read how in former times a chief of the community retired into solitude for a while and became one with the deity, so that, on returning, he attacked and bit many people, who suffered this as a sacred ceremony. Dunn calls this deity "the great solar spirit" and a little further on he states that the ritual related to the rising sun<sup>2)</sup>. Towards the end of the winter ritual there is, according to Boas, a purification rite of the hamatsa which also clearly shows this connection with the sun. This rite is so important, that we shall describe it minutely<sup>3)</sup>. It bears the character of a phase of egress, „désacralisation" as it is called by Mauss, who divides the sacrificial rite (also a rebirth rite, as he conclusively proved) into the three phases of entrance, union, and egress. Mauss has pointed out the remarkable similarity often existing

1) 6, p. 441.

2) 31, p. 533—534.

3) 6, p. 531—535.

between the phases of entrance and egress<sup>1)</sup>). At first sight this seems queer, because the former is a transition from profane to sacred, whereas the latter aims at just the reverse. Their common characteristic, however, consists in that they both effect the suspension of the antithesis sacred-profane. Therefore both of them usually show the middle phase, the one of union with the supernatural power, although much less conspicuously, it is true, than the rite of that phase itself.

In the present instance, the relation between sacred and profane slightly deviates from its average in sacrificial rites, but we shall see later on that there exists yet a relative similarity. The relation to the phase of entrance appears from the fact that not only the rising, but also the setting sun occurs in the ritual. Both are connected with the serpent in this sense that they indicate an ambivalent state of light and darkness, of life and death. The element of union with the supernatural power is sufficiently clear in the myth, and the latter's sacredness is plainly expressed by the removing of all uninitiated elements from the ceremonial house. Besides those who are to be purified, there are four special actors, namely the kuetsenox or the washer, the qanenox or the rubber, the tsesilaenox or the tongsmaker, and the tamtsenox or the time beater. First a pair of tongs is very solemnly manufactured out of cedar wood. Next the qanenox (the rubber) makes a figure meant to represent a person out of white cedar bark. "The ring represents the body, the knot the head, the upper ends the arms, and the lower ends the feet of a person". We are not told who is personated in this way, but in a later book<sup>2)</sup> we find exactly the same figure pictured as a representation of Baxbakualanux-siwae, as indeed is in accordance with the sense of the ceremony. This figure of cedar bark is called the qanayu. When it is ready, the tongsmaker comes with the tongs to take up the qanayu: "he pretends to take it with the tongs, but he does not touch it. Then he turns around to the left and extends his arms towards the place of the *rising sun*. Every time he does so the tamtsenox gives a hard rap on the board and the people cry: wa!". This is

1) 46; especially p. 66 ff.

2) 19, p. 107.

done three times; the fourth time he takes up the qanayu and walks round the fire four times until he arrives at the east side of the house. We have already pointed out that these sacred houses have cosmic significance, when quoting Boas' note regarding the world which is represented as a house, the North being "up the river" and the South "down the river". In this note we read that "the east is the door of the house; the west is the rear of the house"<sup>1</sup>). This is also expressed in the rite under discussion. After the tongmaker has put the qanayu at the east side of the house, the washer rises and walks round the fire with his bucket four times. "Every time he comes to the point where he started, either opposite the door or in the rear of the house, he turns and lifts his bucket toward the sun". In the meantime the hamatsa, with one of his servant girls, has come out of the sacred room, entirely naked, and now likewise walks four times from East to West and vice versa. Then he sits down, "looking wild all the time, as though he wanted to bite the people". When the water has been heated by means of hot stones, the washer gets up to fetch the qanayu. Time is beaten very strongly. "Every time he reaches the east and west side of the fire he turns around and the beater gives one short rap. Every time he comes to the turning point he extends his hands toward the qanayu as though he was going to take it down. His hands are shaking all the time like those of Baxbakualanuxsiwae. The fourth time he really takes the qanayu down. Its head is in his left hand, its lower end in his right hand. He holds his left hand stretched forward. He goes around the fire, and at the turning point *extends the ring toward the sun*. Every time he does so the tamtsenox gives a short beat". After the water has been lifted up towards the sun, it is poured out on the heads of the hamatsa and his companion. Then the qanenox (rubber) stands up and takes the qanayu in his hands. "He goes around the fire carrying the ring, and on the *west* side, he extends it toward the sun. Then he walks around toward the hamatsa, turns slowly, and puts the ring over the hamatsa's head, doubling it up and wiping the whole body. The hamatsa first extends his right arm then his left arm, through the ring. When the ring comes

1) 8e, p. 579.



down to his feet, he raises his right leg first, puts it down outside the ring, turns all around on his right foot, then takes up his left foot, and sits down on the mat, facing east". This is done four times to both the hamatsa and his companion. After that the people present sing. "In olden times you went all around the world with the supernatural being". Finally this ring of cedar bark, which represents Baxbakualanuxsiwae, is ignited above the fire and burned outside.

By this ceremony the hamatsa is not yet wholly freed from his desire to bite. This does not happen until, after four days, the hamspeq (cannibal pole) has been ceremonially destroyed after the cannibals have slid down it<sup>1</sup>). The latter ceremony seems to correspond to the stepping out of the ring which represents Baxbakualanuxsiwae.

After this the cannibal has still to observe many interdictions. Thus he is not allowed to touch his wife for a year<sup>2</sup>). He has become a quite different person now: "he feigns to have forgotten the ordinary ways of man, and has to learn everything anew"<sup>3</sup>).

Essentially the same purification rite is performed whenever the hamatsa have been devouring human flesh<sup>4</sup>). The official tamers of the hamatsa, the heliga, then drag them along to the salt water. "They go into the water until it reaches to their waists, and *facing the rising sun*, they dip the hamatsa four times under water. Every time he rises again he cries hap. Then they go back to the house. Their excitement has left them. They dance during the following nights. They look downcast and do not utter their peculiar cries, hap, hap". This rite of egress very clearly shows the connection with the rising sun. Repeatedly the sense of the ceremony in its entirety is alluded to. The walking from West to East represents the road of rebirth, which man and nature have to follow in order to acquire the new life. In this phase, because it means the end of the rite, not red, but white cedar bark is used. There is still a slight connection between the dancer and the cannibalistic spirit,

1) 6, p. 536.

2) 6, p. 538.

3) 6, p. 538.

4) 6, p. 442.

but this has at the same time the significance of a dissolution. Just as the sun rises from the serpent, so also the cannibal steps out of the ring representing Baxbakualanuxsiwae. But this is not sufficient to undo the connection with darkness altogether. The light is only dawning and there is a temporary state between darkness and light. The period of the full sun and of unthreatened life, i. e. the baxus period, does not begin before the absolute end of the winter period.

It is noteworthy that especially the water represents the passage to light and life with regard to cannibalism. This is the reason why the cannibals, wholly dominated by their desire to bite, are afraid of the water, for this robs them of their proper function. Through the water the sun and, with it, light and life, make their appearance from the underworld; therefore the water may serve as a phase of transition to the ultimate deliverance of the cannibal from the demonic power by which he is possessed.

The double aspect of cannibalism has now been proved sufficiently as it seems; and from this we should also explain the antithesis of hamatsa and ghost dancers<sup>1)</sup>. The latter personate the dark power of the underworld, by which also the cannibal is dominated for a long time, but through which he ultimately passes, a view expressed thus in one of the songs addressed to the cannibals: "you will be known all over the world as far as the edge of the world, you great one who *safely* returned from the spirits"<sup>2)</sup>.

The conception that the road to life leads through the underworld, as is expressed by the walk from West to East, is found among all the coast tribes. Walking around the fire in this direction is almost always mentioned with regard to the acting of priests, especially when curing the sick.

The sorcerer (shaman), with the Tlingit, who has made somebody ill by stealing certain objects from him and using them in his magical rites, is robbed of his evil power in about the same way as the hamatsa<sup>3)</sup>. After having confessed and having produced

1) Specially 84, p. 616, 618; cp. 6, p. 455, 524.

2) 6, p. 459.

3) 38, p. 294.

the stolen things, he goes to the sea with his companions and walks into it until the water reaches to his knees. „Dort bleibt er stehen und wendet sich viermal langsam nach der Sonne, indem er mit beiden Händen die erwähnten Gegenstände vor sich hält; beim vierten Mal aber taucht er sie ganz in das Wasser, geht noch weiter, bis zum Hals, in dasselbe hinein und taucht auch selber viermal unter, indem er ausruft, dass der Kranke ebenso gesund und rein werden solle, wie er jetzt aus dem Wasser gehe”.

The notion of rebirth by walking from West to East is very clearly expressed by the obsequial ceremony of the Tlingit. This rite is an anticipatory performance of what will happen to the deceased. “Before being placed upon the pyre the body was turned around four times in the direction which they conceive the sun to take, just the reverse of its motion as we understand it, and finally laid down head to the sunrise. This was to enable the deceased’s soul to be reborn, for, if he were laid head toward the sunset, he would never come back”<sup>1</sup>).

The root idea of the winter ritual as expounded above, probably also explains the myth concerning Mink and the Wolves, which is regarded as the origin myth of the rite required to bring back the novices.

Mink is the son of the sun and a human mother. Among the Kwakiutl, in many respects, he occupies the place which among the northern tribes belongs to the Raven, that is, he shows many foolish features besides the characteristic of being a supernatural person. He is a queer customer; a real foetus both in a literal and in a figurative sense. The widest-spread myth concerning him relates that he once rose to the sky and took the sun over from his father. He would have burned the whole earth through his silliness, if his father had not caught him up, and taken back the sun. Unglorious was his retreat to this world<sup>2</sup>).

The myth with which we are dealing now relates to the primeval time, when the chief of the wolves (Head-wolf) owned the winter ritual<sup>3</sup>). Once his children went away to be initiated into this

1) 58, p. 430.

2) Cp. 9a, p. 315, and 19, p. 175—177.

3) There are several versions of this myth: see a. o. 6, p. 538—539; 14, p. 103 ff.; 19, p. 57—61, 86—92.

ritual. The group of Mink and Kwekwaxawe, the latter of whom is the raven again and will be discussed in the next chapter under this aspect, were not to know this, because they were uninitiated. Kwekwaxawe, however, had overheard everything and Mink then killed the young wolves; consequently, the latter, when the bringing back ritual is performed, did not appear. At last Mink made his appearance. He first showed the sisiul, which he had caught in a trap, and by doing this caused the bodies of the people present to distort themselves, so that they were unable to pursue him, when he produced the heads of the young wolves. This myth is told in various ways, but its essence is as related above. What may be its significance? In order to answer this question we have to adduce some other data, and this will lead us to a rather ample discussion of the two main groups into which the winter organization is divided. Mink, namely, by the above-mentioned deed, has become the "great beginning of the sparrows"<sup>1)</sup>; that is, he is the first chief of the quequtsa (the sparrows), who, in the winter ritual, are antagonistic to the dancers proper, the meemcoat (the seals), but who yet form an essential part of this ritual.

Now we are confronted with the difficulty that we do not possess precise and conclusive data with regard to the real character and formation of this quequtsa group. As a general definition may serve the following description. "The quequtsa groups of all these tribes embrace those individuals who, for the time being are not possessed by the spirits. A member of the quequtsa may at any time become initiated by a new spirit and then he or she leaves their ranks. Or he may become possessed of his spirit and show his dance or ceremony. Then he is for the time being not considered as one of the quequtsa, but simply as one of these dancers"<sup>2)</sup>. But now the question is, whether this group exclusively contains the dancers who for the time being are out of action, or whether not only these, but also the uninitiated in general belong to it. The list of sections of the quequtsa, in which we meet all age classes, also those of little boys and girls, strongly suggests the latter alternative<sup>3)</sup>. There are other texts, however,

1) 19, p. 89.

2) 6, p. 420.

3) 6, p. 419.

which seem to distinguish the quequtsa and the quite uninitiated. Thus we read somewhere: "Then the Sparrow society *and* the uninitiated are inside..."<sup>1)</sup>.

However this may be, the quequtsa are always considered more or less profane in contradistinction to the meemqoat, who are strongly possessed of the quequtsa spirit. It is therefore not quite improbable that in the following statement concerning the quequtsa Boas is using the term baxus for the whole quequtsa group. "This season lasts from November to February. The rest of the year is called baxus, the time during which the secret societies are forbidden to appear. The same name is applied to the *uninitiated* and to the festivities of the summer"<sup>2)</sup>. In a previous chapter we have seen that summer and winter are contrasted like baxus and tsetsaeqa. But they are not radically separated. The Indians tersely express their relation in this sentence: "In summer the baxus is on top the tsetsaeqa below, and vice versa in winter"<sup>3)</sup>. In another chapter we shall demonstrate that this antithesis of summer and winter is parallel with the one of Benefactor Qaneqelaku and Sisiul<sup>4)</sup>. Winter, now, is the sacred time, because then the great crisis takes place, whereas the quiet period of summer bears a more profane character. Something similar may be observed concerning an individual who has lived through a spiritual crisis. The time of actual change and rebirth is the pre-eminently sacred time, with which the ensuing period contrasts as less sacred, although in the latter the good power which has triumphed in the period of crisis predominates.

It is obvious, therefore, that the conception of baxus is by no means to be taken in the absolutely profane sense, as has been done by some ethnologists. This would inevitably lead to the conclusion that the culture hero Qaneqelaku is absolutely profane. Adam, indeed, has drawn this conclusion, and has suggested a construction by which this figure is lifted out of the system<sup>5)</sup>; but such a hypothesis would imply a complete destruction of the

1) 16, p. 1158.

2) 8 b, p. 614.

3) 6, p. 418.

4) Chapter VI.

5) 1, p. 304.

system. It is absolutely impossible that baxus should have the meaning of completely profane, for are not also the religious feasts in summer meant by this term? The same thing, moreover, is given to understand by the Indians themselves, when they explain that baxus also occurs in winter time, although only in the background. The above-cited explanation given by Boas shows that the baxus is to be looked for in the quequtsa. This is therefore the group of which Mink is "the great beginning"; the group of the potential dancers and the uninitiated, to which pass members of the meemqoat, whenever, for a while or for ever, they do not wish to perform their dance, and from which continually people are passing into the group of the meemqoat by having themselves initiated or re-initiated <sup>1)</sup>).

The leadership of this quequtsa group is of great importance; "for the chief of the Sparrow society is the chief of the winter dance" <sup>2)</sup>). Mink is the successor of Head-wolf, which he has vanquished by killing its sons. Kwekwaxawe says about the winter ritual: "for we obtained it in war from the Wolves" <sup>3)</sup>).

After all, the whole relation of Mink and Wolf, like the one of quequtsa and meemqoat, proves to be a ritual combat. The Lokoala, a wolf dance of the Kwakiutl, the central rite in the Nootka winter ritual, is based on this ritual antithesis. The Lokoala dancer is called Nun in his quality of dancer and Kex in his quality of quequtsa. Well then, Kex is the quequtsa name of Mink <sup>4)</sup>!

If we are to understand this, our starting-point should be Seler's above-cited observation regarding the wolf, when he says that, with the Nootka, this figure seems to occupy the place which among the Kwakiutl belongs to Baxbakualanuxsiwae <sup>5)</sup>. If that is true, the ritual antithesis also here means the antithesis of darkness and sun. The latter, again, is also closely connected with the serpent, for Mink overtrumps the wolves by means of the serpent.

1) Cp. 19, p. 99 ff.

2) 16, p. 1153.

3) 19, p. 82.

4) 6, p. 632 ff.; 6, p. 478.

5) Chapter IV; 54, p. 41.

Mink bears the name of Leselagila: Born-to-be-the-sun<sup>1)</sup>! He is, consequently, the not full-grown sun. His silliness, his talking like a small child<sup>2)</sup>, his foolish pranks, are in perfect consonance with this. But on the other hand he is the growing sun, and he possesses the central divine power, by which the power of darkness, the wolf, is vanquished.

Although the growing sun does have some place in the ritual winter phase, its presence means the end of the latter and also the beginning of the new period, the baxus period. In complete accordance with this the Mink mask also occurs in the summer dance<sup>3)</sup>.

The rebirth of Cosmos and Society is the purpose of the winter ritual. The power which predominates in summer, is temporarily worsted in winter, but triumphs in the end. Therefore Mink is the chief of the quequtsa, in which, during tsetsaeqa time, baxus is living on, and therefore, as quequtsa chief, he is also to be the chief of the winter ritual; for the ultimate purpose of the latter is not the destruction, but the birth of light and life.

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1) 15, p. 123.

2) 14, p. 82: "Mink always speaks like a young child"; cp. 19, p. 175.

3) 12, p. 187.

## VI. KANTSOUMP AND QANEQELAKU.

When discussing the relation of the serpent to the underworld and the winter ritual, we were led to consider the place of the sun in this ritual. In this way we could not but touch the side of the upperworld, because the sun, as contrasted with the moon, is regarded as one of the figures which represent the upperworld.


To the latter belongs also the thunderbird, which, as we previously saw, is connected with both the sun and the serpent (a. o. as lightning), and this connection immediately suggests the question whether we also meet with a relation between thunderbird and winter ritual, for the serpent as well as the sun are connected with it. Such is, indeed, the case. This is already evident from the fact that the name of the thunderbird Tsäqame, transformed into a human being, has the meaning of Head-winter-dancer. Further, several texts mention the thunderbird in the winter ritual and, besides this, sometimes indicate the existence of a relation to the upperworld<sup>1)</sup>.

It is of some importance to consider this in more detail. In order to define the problem as sharply as possible, we first adduce a piece of evidence from the Haida. It has been stated before that the cannibalistic society of the Tsimshian under the leadership of Haialilaqs (Winalagilis), is called Olala<sup>2)</sup>. We find that among the Haida not the society, but the cannibalistic spirit is referred to by the name of Olala<sup>3)</sup>. In Swan's above-mentioned treatise concerning the Haida, now, we come across the following statements regarding a tattooed thunderbird figure: "Fig. 2 (tattoo

1) For example, 6, p. 376; 6, p. 414; 6, p. 618. According to 6, p. 417 namely, Gamtalal is a thunderbird.

2) Chapter IV.

3) 49, p. 324. Fig. 286 represents Olala. This is a mountain demon, who eats children, and is able to change himself into a land otter. Concerning the relation of Winalagilis and the land otter, cp. 6, p. 611. Also according to Swanton, Olala is the cannibalistic spirit; 61, p. 170.





mark) is the Olala, a mythological being, half man, half bird, similar in all respects to the thunderbird of the Makah Indians. It lives on high mountains enveloped in mist, causing the loud thunder and sharp lightning, and destructive alike to man or beast" <sup>1)</sup>). In other words, according to Haida ideas, the thunderbird is the cannibalistic spirit Olala! But this is not only so among the Haida; also the Kwakiutl occasionally represent the spirit of the winter ritual as a thunderbird. One of the songs of the winter ritual contains this line: "In the beginning the never stopping one spread his wings over your head" <sup>2)</sup>). According to a note of Boas himself, the "never stopping one" means Winalagilis, who, consequently, is also conceived as a bird. In connection with what we found among the Haida, it is very probable indeed that this bird is really the thunderbird. The close connection between Thunderbird and Winalagilis is also obvious from the fact that the thunderbird is one of the figures in the house of Qomogwa <sup>3)</sup>).

This relation of the thunderbird to the winter ritual is not at all strange, considering that on the house of Tsäqame (Head-winter-dancer) occur not only Sun and Thunderbird, but also Serpent and Moon. Just as the serpent is associated with both sides of the system, so also is the thunderbird. The only difference is that, generally speaking, the serpent is by preference associated with the underworld, the thunderbird, on the contrary, with the upperworld. We recognized the dualistic aspect of the system in the picture of the thunderbird with the Makah Indians <sup>4)</sup>). There the thunderbird, accompanied by the serpent of the upperworld, was opposed to the whale with the serpent of the underworld. But another picture of the thunderbird, reproduced here (Fig. II), clearly shows a perfect unity of thunderbird and serpent <sup>5)</sup>). That it is also the serpent of the underworld, appears from the fact that the wings of the thunderbird are ending in whale heads.

1) 56, p. 5.

2) 6, p. 497.

3) 12, p. 273.

4) Fig. I. Chapter II.

5) From 56, Plate 2. The figure is of a buckskin cape worn by a medicine man. The medicine man puts his head through the centre of the cape and the ends hang down before and behind. Swan says that the lower part represents the Hahaketoak (or Lightning Fish), i. e. the serpent (see Chapter II).

The lower part of the thunderbird is meant to represent the serpent, as Swan states. According to Bancroft, who, in connection with such a combination of serpent and thunderbird, speaks of the "Bird-Serpent", this is a wide-spread conception in America <sup>1)</sup>.

Owing to this unity, which, no less than the dualistic aspect,



Fig. II.

has a place in the system, the thunderbird may replace the serpent as cannibal. This relative unity is quite similar to the one between sun and moon which we have already frequently met. Owing to the same unity, the sun may also act as a cannibal, and this explains why the sunrise dance is part of the cannibalistic ritual, and why the sunrise mask *Extsematuselagilis* (Abalone-shell-from-one-end-of-the-world-to-the-other) has a place in it. This parallel of sun and thunderbird is not by any means fortuitous. It is based

<sup>1)</sup> 5, p. 135.

on an identity of the owner of the house in the upperworld with the thunderbird. The name of the former is nothing but a shorter form of the sun mask's name, namely, Extsemalagilis (Abalone-of-the-world), which already proves his close relation to and partial identity with the Sun. His identity with the thunderbird is demonstrated not only by their common association with the sun, but also by the fact that the same figures occur in their houses, namely, the sun and the moon, the thunderbird and the serpent <sup>1)</sup>. Like the thunderbird, Extsemalagilis also stands in a very close relation to the serpent. The cannibalistic figure Blue Jay, which among neighbouring tribes occupies a larger place in mythology than here, is found in his house as well as in the territory of Winalagilis <sup>2)</sup>. But a conclusive proof of this close relation is furnished by a myth in which Extsemalagilis is the son of Qomogwa <sup>3)</sup>! It is evident that, just as well as the thunderbird, so also Extsemalagilis may form a unity with the serpent, for that is probably the conception which this mythical genealogical relation is meant to express.

It goes without saying that such a figure, comprising the whole system, but preferably associated with the upperworld, is pre-eminently fit for the function of supreme deity. But in that case, the supreme deity Kantsoump (our father), by which name this god is generally referred to among the Kwakiutl, must be identical with Extsemalagilis and Thunderbird. Various data are also suggestive of this. In the first place, also Kantsoump is closely connected with the sun without being completely identical with it. The same thing is true of the sky gods of neighbouring peoples. In an old publication Boas says about it: „Die Vorstellung von dieser Gottheit ist aber ziemlich verwirrt, indem dieselbe bald als die Sonne bezeichnet wird, bald unabhängig von ihr erscheint” <sup>4)</sup>. The latter statement is perfectly correct. But there is no reason at all to speak of confusion, for this relation perfectly fits in with the totemic cosmological classification system expounded previously. In the second place, Kantsoump too is intimately con-

1) See Chapter II.

2) 12, p. 49, and 16, p. 1120.

3) 15, p. 275.

4) 9a, p. 299.

nected with the winter ritual, although he is the father of the Benefactor Qaneqelaku, who shuns the winter ritual. There is a myth in which Kantsoump initiates somebody into the hamatsa mysteries<sup>1)</sup>. Further, the above-mentioned myth of the journey to the West in one version mentions Amiaechet (Kantsoump, as is added in the text), and in another version it is a figure from the Qomogwa group<sup>2)</sup>. Also the thunderbird may belong to the latter, as we saw, just as Extsemalagilis, who, indeed, is the son of Qomogwa. The fact that also Kantsoump may act there, confirms the identification of Thunderbird, Extsemalagilis and Kantsoump.

We shall now have to occupy ourselves with the determination of the character of the Benefactor and Culture Hero Qaneqelaku. Here we are confronted with difficulties which are not to be solved unless we start from the system expounded in the foregoing chapters. In this system, Qaneqelaku pre-eminently represents the good side of the supreme deity, but yet in him, as in all other figures, there is a certain ambivalence. The latter, it is true, is especially proper to two other figures closely related to him, but may occasionally also be observed with Qaneqelaku himself.

In the foregoing chapter it has already been stated that he is the supernatural power of the summer and its feasts; that is: of the baxus period. In perfect accordance with this, he is associated with the South<sup>3)</sup>, the North being the region from which came the tsetsaeqa spirit Winalagilis. It may also happen that Qaneqelaku is identified with the sun; this probably means that he is the radiant sun of daytime, which will have none of darkness. The good aspect of the supreme deity has become personated in Qaneqelaku. Obviously this implies a partial identity between the two. That this identity exists, appears not only from the fact that they are both identified with the sun, but also from their being called by the same names, as is shown by the following quotations. In one of his earliest publications Boas says: „Die Kwakiutl nennen

1) 7<sup>b</sup>, p. 402.

2) 7<sup>c</sup>, p. 263; other versions concerning the journey a. o. 7<sup>c</sup>, p. 439, 453; 7<sup>b</sup>, p. 335—336; 12, p. 380.

3) 14, p. 210.

4) 26, p. 82.

die Gottheit Quanstoump, d. h. unser Vater, und Qanikila ist sein Sohn. Der letztere wird ausserdem noch: unser älterer Bruder, der von droben gekommene, der dem wir danken müssen (Kumsnola, Ata, Amiaechet), genannt" <sup>1)</sup>). In another early publication of Boas, however, we find the names Amiaechet and Ata to refer to Kantsoump: "The Kwakiutl worship the sun, who is called Kantsoump (our father), Ata (the one above), Kanskiyi (our brother), Kansnola (our elder brother) or Amiaeget (the one to whom we must be grateful). They pray to him and they give him offerings. His son is Kanikilak (with outspread wings), who descended from heaven and wandered all over the world giving man his social institutions, customs and arts. They pray to him also" <sup>2)</sup>).

As we learn from this quotation, Qaneqelaku is conceived as a winged being. This is confirmed by other places in the texts, where he is referred to as an eagle <sup>3)</sup>. Also this personation gives proof of a certain identity with the supreme deity, for we have already proved that the thunderbird is a definite type of eagle <sup>4)</sup>. On representations of the sun we frequently find the same type of bird, and therefore it may represent the supreme deity as well as Qaneqelaku.

The great antithesis of these two originates from the fact that Qaneqelaku does not encompass the whole system. He is often set against the winter ritual, because in this the dark powers decidedly come to the front. He usually shuns these powers, and sometimes it is plainly given to understand that he is afraid of them. But in other cases mention is made of his fighting against them. As a rule, the issue is that they are equally strong. In one or two cases, he even gets the worst of it, but on the other hand, there is a wide-spread myth in which he appears from the combat triumphant. On the basis of certain data, we shall attempt to throw some light upon this complex of relations. As we stated above, Qaneqelaku is the radiant sun of daytime, which is hostile to darkness, and also the power of the baxus period, which has

1) 9a, p. 157.

2) 8a, p. 847.

3) For example, 10, p. 52.

4) Chapter II.

gained full mastery in summer, and for a long time leads an unthreatened existence. At the approach of the period in which the dark powers, which also possess supernatural power, come to the front, he grows afraid. In winter, namely, that particular aspect of the supreme deity which is personated in Qaneqelaku, is in danger of being totally annihilated. This fear of the power of the winter ritual clearly shows itself in the following quotations from myths concerning Qaneqelaku. "Then Qaneqelaku was afraid, because the man and the woman had cedar bark rings on their head" <sup>1)</sup>, and "Then he to whom we pray, Qaneqelaku, was afraid because our master is secular" <sup>2)</sup>. In a note this comment is added: "Qaneqelaku is believed to have no connection with the sacred winter dance. For this reason he is called *secular*: i. e. belonging to the secular season, the year being divided into halves, — the *sacred* winter dance and the *secular* summer season". This term "secular" is a translation of the word "baxus". We have already pointed out that this translation is not to be accepted off-hand, because it leads to a misunderstanding. In our discussion of the myth of Mink and the wolves we have tried to determine the real significance of the word. The evidence which follows proves that, also with respect to Qaneqelaku, the word *baxus* may refer to both the contrast with the winter ritual and the power which is worsted in this ritual, but which ultimately triumphs. Qaneqelaku is represented as one who not only avoids evil, but also fights and punishes it. Boas, in one of his early publications, from which we have already been quoting, regards this Qaneqelaku myth as a sample of the central myth among the more southerly tribes. „Es ist die Sage von dem mächtigen Wanderer, der alle guten und freundlichen Menschen belohnt, die schlechten aber verwandelt" <sup>3)</sup>. After giving a few examples of such myths, Boas continues: „Die Sagen, welche hier erzählt sind, stellen zum Teil den Wanderer als den Gottessohn dar... Der charakteristische Zug dieser Sagen bei allen Völkern ist, dass er die Halbthiere der Vorwelt in wirkliche Thiere und in Menschen scheidet" <sup>4)</sup>.

1) 14, p. 195.

2) 14, p. 195.

3) 9a, p. 153.

4) 9a, p. 157. Cp. concerning Qaneqelaku: 8a, p. 826, and 10, p. 52.

Also Qaneqelaku acts as such a transformer. The conception of this transformer figure is dominated by an interplay of two ideas. He is thought to be the finisher of creation, who divides the living things into human beings and animals; and he is also considered as "giving man his social institutions, customs and arts". But, on the other hand, he is represented as a reformer of a state of decay rather than as a real finisher. This is the reason why, when Qaneqelaku is passing, somebody remarks: "So this is he who is to put the world all in order again"<sup>1)</sup>. And also the notion that he transforms people who are hostile to himself into animals, fits in with this sphere of thought. This combat against whatever is opposite to himself is also found to be the theme of a widespread myth concerning Qaneqelaku's marriage<sup>2)</sup>. Many versions of this myth give only a few episodes of it. When we compare all these versions, the core of the myth appears to be as follows. Qaneqelaku travels to the chief of the West in order to marry the latter's daughter, Death-bringing-woman<sup>3)</sup>. As a slave, he penetrates into the house, and contrives to take the daughter to wife. He is aware of her habit to kill her lovers by means of the teeth in her vagina, but he robs her of her pernicious power by breaking them out<sup>4)</sup>. He also manages to foil the continual attempts of his father-in-law to kill him. From their marriage is born a child, of which usually no more is told<sup>5)</sup>. Probably, this infant represents the growing sun, which is conceived as the child of light and darkness, of life and death.

It is evident that the power which ultimately triumphs in the winter ritual, and which reigns supreme in the baxus period, may be very closely connected with Qaneqelaku. While discussing Mink's position, we pointed out that this victory is the ultimate object of the winter ritual. Therefore, Mink may function as "the chief of the winter dance". Because the birth of the power of the

1) 26, p. 83.

2) See for example 12, p. 94 ff.; 14, p. 229; 8a, p. 826; 15, p. 455 ff.

3) Death-bringing-woman she is called, for example, in 12, p. 96; 14, p. 229. It appears from 14, p. 196 ff., that Gwanalalis and Dzadawalis are names for the same father-in-law of Qaneqelaku.

4) 12, p. 96, and 14, p. 238.

5) 12, p. 201; 8a, p. 826.

baxus period falls in the winter period and Qaneqelaku can represent the triumphant power of the winter ritual, it is intelligible that, occasionally, Qaneqelaku may also occur as the founder of the winter ritual! But it does still sound much like a paradox when, concerning this figure, which elsewhere is explicitly stated to fear the power of the winter ritual, we are told: "It is said that this whole performance was made in accordance with the advice of Qaneqelaku. Therefore the winter ceremonial is performed in this manner" <sup>1)</sup>; and somewhere else: "The Kwakiutl tribes call these dances the Tsaeka or Tsetsaeka, and say, that the custom was established by Kanikilak, the son of the deity, who descended in the shape of an eagle from heaven, wandered all over the world, and made friend with many a mighty chief, while he transformed those who were his enemies into animals" <sup>2)</sup>).

The connection of Qaneqelaku with this side of the winter ritual is quite in accordance with his presenting the good side of the supreme deity. This aspect of the winter ritual was found to be also closely connected with the raven, that is to say, not with the latter's cannibalistic form, but with his mythical representative who liberates the sun, and together with Mink, acquires the winter ritual by defeating the wolves, which represent the power of darkness. In his last-mentioned function, the raven was called Kwekwaxawe (Great-inventor). Once in a while, we come across the statement that he, and not Mink, is the one who killed the wolves <sup>3)</sup> and he is frequently mentioned as the first master of ceremonies of the winter ritual <sup>4)</sup>. Among the northern tribes, the raven is thought to have established their customs or, in other words, the raven functions as a culture hero <sup>5)</sup>. But also the Kwakiutl are acquainted with this idea. Kwekwaxawe, "the chief of the myth people" in primeval times <sup>6)</sup>, is also called "World-maker" <sup>7)</sup>, and somewhere else the customs are said to have been

1) 15, p. 484.

2) 10, p. 52.

3) 14, p. 113.

4) Thus, for example, 6, p. 538.

5) See the raven myth 23, p. 621 ff.

6) 14, p. 148.

7) 17, p. 232.



established by the "Maker of the world"<sup>1)</sup>. This means that, to a certain extent, he occupies the same place as Qaneqelaku. But this functional similarity is based on a certain identity between the two figures. Boas, namely, makes the following statement with regard to one of the Kwakiutl tribes: „Die Nemkis nennen Qanikila häufiger bei seinem zweiten Namen Kuekuaxaoe"<sup>2)</sup>. This is confirmed by Dawson's information concerning Qaneqelaku. He relates that Qaneqelaku, like the raven among the northern tribes, stole the water from its possessors and gave it to the Indians, and he adds: "To do this, he assumed a form of a *raven*..."<sup>3)</sup>.

Thus, we find that Qaneqelaku and Kwekwaxawe form a dual unity of a rather variable character. Its central importance is plainly indicated by the statement that: "all the clans authenticate the claim to their rank and to the greatness of their ancestors by telling of a meeting between him and one of the two deities which prevail in the mythology of these tribes..." and these are, as the text continues, Qaneqelaku and Kwekwaxawe<sup>4)</sup>. Their unity is also apparent from the following. In one version of the above-mentioned myth concerning Qaneqelaku's marriage, his child is given the name Haneus<sup>5)</sup>. Kwekwaxawe, it is said, also marries, and his child receives the name Hanis, which is probably the same word<sup>6)</sup>. We have already often met with such slight spelling-shifts.

We know that the raven is intimately connected with the serpent. This does not only apply to its cannibalistic aspect, but also to the figure of Kwekwaxawe. There is a myth which relates that Kwekwaxawe has caused a flood<sup>7)</sup>. Hayalikawae, who has

1) 6, p. 574.

2) 9a, p. 155.

3) 26, p. 84. According to the same information received by Dawson, the fire was obtained by Qaneqelaku as a deer by stealing it from its possessor, who was living: "at the edge of the day, viz. the rising of the day".

4) 6, p. 389. Here Boas refers to Qaneqelaku as representing a special feature of Newetsee mythology. This relation will be discussed shortly. The statements of van Deursen (27, p. 265—266), contradicting Dawson, are valueless, since he appears to know only a small part of the available evidence.

5) 8a, p. 826; 7c, p. 435.

6) 19, p. 82.

7) 7c, p. 238—239.

foreseen the flood, as he possesses supernatural power, promises many gifts to Kwekwaxawe if the latter will make the flood stop. Kwekwaxawe is willing and travels to Hayalikawae in his *sisiul boat*, which, among other things, is acquired by Hayalikawae. The *sisiul boat* is made of copper and may be folded up. It feeds on seals, and when Hayalikawae asks whether it is able to cause a flood, the serpent answers: „Ja, denn ich bin die Kraft Kuekuaqaoe's, meines Vaters". Now, strange to say, it is this Hayalikawae who has the *sisiul* power, and of whom, according to some texts, Qaneqelaku is especially afraid <sup>1)</sup>. According to another passage, they are equally powerful, and, after measuring each other's strength, become like brothers, Qaneqelaku presenting Hayalikawae with salmon and foretelling him a great success in the use of the supernatural power <sup>2)</sup>. In these various versions of the relation between Qaneqelaku and Hayalikawae, the figure of Qaneqelaku gives evidence of an ambivalence which is already implied by his association and partial identification with Kwekwaxawe. Perhaps, to some extent, it is also due to this that the role of founder of the winter ritual is ascribed to Qaneqelaku. The fact that also Qaneqelaku has the serpent as his power is in itself not strange, because the latter represents the supernatural power in general. It is for example told in some myth that Qaneqelaku has the serpent as a canoe and as a girdle <sup>3)</sup>. The latter statement is confirmed by another passage, which, moreover, relates that he kills whales by means of the *sisiul* eyes <sup>4)</sup>. But in the statements which follow, he is strongly inclining towards the opposite side of the system. We have seen that, according to several myths, Qaneqelaku fights against the figures of the *tsetsaeqa* side. To these belong, among others, the raven Omal and the thunderbird Tsäqame, which, as figures of the winter ritual, are opposed to Qaneqelaku and, consequently, represent only a definite aspect of their personation <sup>5)</sup>. Qaneqelaku tries to overcome Tsäqame in all possible manners and, when he fails, takes a piece of the red cedar bark

1) See e. g. 14, p. 196.

2) 14, p. 223.

3) 15, p. 3—7.

4) 15, p. 193.

5) 15, p. 207; 12, p. 167.

of Tsäqame's head ring and says to his companions: "Let us go to the place where the various kinds of salmon come through, that we may bewitch this man of supernatural power, that he may have frogs in his belly" <sup>1)</sup>). We notice that here Qaneqelaku, who in general represents the divine power in its good manifestations, is making use of sorcery practices which these Indians, in everyday life, regard as criminal. He shows the same inclination with regard to the cedar bark which contains the power of the winter ritual. Usually he is afraid of it and has an aversion from it, so that he is glad when, once, he sees an opponent's barking of this kind on fire <sup>2)</sup>), but in some passages he appears to be jealous of this power of the winter ritual, and once he says about it: "I like it" <sup>3)</sup>).

We see that even in this figure, although, substantially, it represents the good side of the system, there is a certain ambivalence. In the Kwakiutl system, this ambivalence is especially a predominating character of the raven figure, which, as a matter of fact, can hardly be assigned to either of the two sides. This position entirely corresponds with his role in the mythology of the northern tribes, where he, likewise, belongs to one as well as to the other side, representing both the culture hero and the trickster. In the Haida creation myth, as it is related by Harrison, his position is very clearly indicated <sup>4)</sup>). According to Harrison, the Haida believe in a primeval god who remains in the background, and, mainly, in two more gods who are hostile to each other <sup>5)</sup>); one is the god of light and the upperworld, the other is the god of darkness and the underworld. Formerly they were living together, but after some quarrel, they parted, and, since, they are fighting each other. The raven comes out of the underworld and visits the upperworld. He is an *eagle* when he steals the light on behalf of the world, which he himself has called into being. He returns neither to the upperworld nor to the underworld, but manifests himself to man as a power which stands in between.

1) 12, p. 171.

2) 12, p. 169.

3) 15, p. 453, and especially 15, p. 481.

4) 32, p. 14-29; 32a, p. 149 ff.

5) 32, p. 98.

This is essentially the same system as the one found with the Kwakiutl, although its mythical elaboration may be slightly different. A closer study of the different descriptions of Haida mythology should give us a clearer picture of the system in its entirety, than Harrison has done. Considering the fact that this tribe has the same ideas concerning the thunderbird and the serpent, we may expect that its similarity to the Kwakiutl, also as far as mythical forms are concerned, would prove to be much greater than we are able to see at present.

Besides the raven, there is still another figure with which Qaneqelaku is closely connected, and which perhaps partly represents the same aspect of the system as does the raven. This is Nemoqwis, often referred to as a twin brother of Qaneqelaku <sup>1)</sup>. Both of them are sons of Kantsoump. A myth relates that they are born on the earth, by the Olachen woman Tsatsaquitelaku, who is the possessor of the salmon and other fishes <sup>2)</sup>. When Qaneqelaku uses her mantle to take the salmon and the other fishes into the water, she gets angry and leaves for the land of the salmon. Now this country of the salmon, also called the country of the West, is nothing but the underworld. For the salmon, as we have learned, are with Qomogwa. Probably this myth is meant to relate that Qaneqelaku and Nemoqwis are sons of the bisexual power of upper- and underworld. The myths concerning Qaneqelaku and Nemoqwis show this double aspect. Sometimes very little is said about Nemoqwis, while Qaneqelaku alone comes to the front. The myth of Qaneqelaku's marriage relates that, some time after his success in acquiring a wife, he suddenly thinks of his brother Nemoqwis, whom he has left behind, and grows sad, because he knows that Nemoqwis has died. When they are going to start for Nemoqwis' home, Qaneqelaku's father-in-law says to his daughter: "Don't leave your chamber-vessel behind. Take it along, that you may sprinkle the bones of the younger brother of your husband, for your urine is the water of life" <sup>3)</sup>. And Nemoqwis is really revived by this. For

1) 7 c, p. 430 ff.; 9 a, p. 153.

2) 7 c, p. 430.

3) 14, p. 208—209.

a while they stay with each other, but then, after mature consideration, Qaneqelaku says to Nemoqwis: "Oh, my dear! take care of yourself, my dear, and go to see the northern part of the world, and go and make everything right there. I will go and make right the many things seen by me in the south that were wrong. I will go now and make them right". In another passage, however, we read that Nemoqwis, indeed, travelled to the North, but that he waged war there, and destroyed many villages, and became the ancestor of "bad people" <sup>1)</sup>. His tendency is, to represent not the good but the dark side of the supernatural power, which is connected with sea and underworld. For this reason, we sometimes find him rather sharply contrasted to Qaneqelaku, although, ultimately, their unity is apparent again. This is plainly expressed by the interesting myth which follows <sup>2)</sup>. First it relates that, after the Flood, the early people were transformed into animals and stones. „Als das Wasser abgelaufen war, stieg das Ungeheuer Nemkyalikyo (das Einzige) aus der Tiefe des Meeres auf. Es sah aus wie eine riesige Heilbutte, und trug einen Mann auf seiner schmalen Kante. Der Mann schaute sich auf Erden um und erblickte niemand. Daher nannte er sich Nemokyustalis (als einziger aus der Erde gekommen). Er hatte einen Sohn, Namens Gyii (Häuptling). Sie unterhielten ein Feuer am Ufer und sassen daneben. Da kam eines Tages Kanigyilak in seinem Boote des Weges und landete in Qulkh. Er setzte sich zu ihnen an's Feuer, so dass Nemokyustalis und Gyii an einer Seite sassen, er selbst an der anderen. Und er wollte seine Kraft an ihnen versuchen. Deshalb legte er etwas Fisch, den er bei sich trug, an's Feuer und röstete ihn. Da wünschte Gyii von dem Fisch zu essen. Sein Vater hielt seine Hand darunter und fing das herabträufelnde Fett auf, das er seinem Sohne gab. Kanigyilak nahm den Fisch, zerbrach ihn und gab ihn jenem zu essen. Er glaubte, sie würden sterben, denn es war der Sisiutl (die doppelköpfige Schlange); es tat ihnen aber keinen Schaden. Nemokyustalis hatte aber selbst Sisiutl. Er röstete ihn und gab ihn Kanigyilak zu essen. Da erstaunte jener sehr". Then Qaneqelaku successively transforms the others into

1) 15, p. 473.

2) 7 b, p. 388—389.

ducks, mountains and king-fishers, but everytime they adopt their human shape again. Nemokyustalis, who naturally is Nemoqwis, that is "Only-one", changes Qaneqelaku three times, but also he adopts his original form again. „Als Kanigyilak nun sah, dass er sie nicht besiegen konnte, schloss er Freundschaft mit ihnen und reiste weiter”.

Here we clearly see the two figures opposite each other. Qaneqelaku represents the upperworld, Nemoqwis the underworld. In the totemic system he is, of course, the same as the sea monster, which, indeed, bears the same name. We have previously mentioned the halibut as belonging to the Qomogwa group. Thus there is a myth in which it is told that Qomogwa gave away a totem pole with a halibut on its upper end<sup>1)</sup>. It is quite obvious therefore that Nemoqwis is connected with the Qomogwa group of the classification system. Both sides of the religious system have the disposal of the same supernatural power, i. e. of the serpent. Besides the antagonism also the unity is apparent, for Qaneqelaku and Nemoqwis separate in friendship. A very interesting feature in this myth is the sudden appearance of Gii beside Nemoqwis. This figure clearly demonstrates once more the unity of the system. We have previously discussed Qaneqelaku's son from his marriage with the daughter of the chief of the West. In some versions this son is called Gii<sup>2)</sup>. At the time, we characterized the latter as representing the reborn sun, and we also drew a parallel between Qaneqelaku and Mink. It perfectly tallies with this that Gii may also serve as a name of Qaneqelaku<sup>3)</sup>. But besides being Qaneqelaku or the latter's child, Gii is also the child of Death-bringing-woman and of Nemoqwis. We are able to point out more precisely the relation between the two last-mentioned beings. The above-cited myth informs us that Gii also occurs as the grandson of Gwanalalis<sup>4)</sup>. Before this, it was stated that Nemoqwis, after Qaneqelaku had left, adopted the name Gwanalalis. Now in many versions of the myth concerning Qaneqelaku's marriage we are told that Gwanalalis is the name of the father-in-law who, in all

1) 7 c, p. 255.

2) 14, p. 201.

3) 15, p. 457.

4) 7 b, p. 389.

possible ways, attempts to kill Qaneqelaku<sup>1)</sup>). That we are actually dealing with the same person, is apparent from the fact, that both these personalities: Gwanalalis who first was Nemoqwis, and the father-in-law Gwanalalis, were transformed into a fishful river by Qaneqelaku<sup>2)</sup>). Thus we have to do with the configuration, very peculiar at first sight, that Qaneqelaku's father-in-law is really the same being as Qaneqelaku's brother who is revived by the water of life of Gwanalalis' daughter. This is probably to be explained as follows. Nemoqwis is not seldom pictured with a sun mask, and we are told that he originates from the upperworld<sup>3)</sup>). He is the sun which sets in the darkness, and, at last, rises again, reborn. This explains why Nemoqwis dies and is roused to revival by the water of life. But we have seen before that the sun which has set, the sun in the underworld, forms a unity with the moon and the serpent. Therefore Nemoqwis, as the power of darkness, hostile to the sun, may take action against Qaneqelaku. But the sun, Qaneqelaku, contrives to escape his attempts and destroys the pernicious power of his daughter Death-bringing-woman. The sun reborn, Gii, is the son of Qaneqelaku and Death-bringing-woman, but may also represent Qaneqelaku himself, because he is the power which has defeated the darkness. Gii, however, is also a child of Death-bringing-woman, and may therefore act as a grandson of Gwanalalis and also as a son of the latter (Nemoqwis), if we identify Death-bringing-woman with him by regarding her as his female aspect. In this way we discover a deeper unity between these two seemingly antagonistic powers.

We have pointed out that Nemoqwis' connection with this side of the religious system also brings him into close relation with moon and serpent. In the myths of the Tsimshian the moon acts as the power which is able to rejuvenate people and to strip them of their ugliness<sup>4)</sup>). One of these myths also states that the entrance to the upperworld, that is, to light and life, passes through the moon<sup>5)</sup>). The ambivalence manifested by almost all the underworld figures is also plainly pointed out here. „Jeder, der zum Himmel

1) 7c, p. 434; 14, p. 196.

3) 6, p. 384 cp. 7b, p. 237.

5) 7c, p. 201.

2) 7b, p. 389; 14, p. 228.

4) 23, p. 187.

hinaufgehen will, muss durch das Haus des Mondes gehen. Der Häuptling dieses Hauses heisst Haiatlilaqs (Pest). Er sitzt hinten im Hause und viele hübsche Sachen liegen rund um ihn her. An der Westseite des Hauses leben viele hässliche Zwerge, Kanats (Hermaphroditen) genannt. Sobald ein Besucher an der Thür erscheint, muss er rufen: Ich wünsche von Haiatlilaqs schön und gesund gemacht zu werden! Dann rufen die Zwerge: Komm her! komm her! Wenn der Fremde ihrem Rufe folgt, und glaubt, er folge einem Befehle des Häuptlings, tödten sie ihn". But also the name of Nemoqwis gives proof of his relation to the moon. This name means "Only-one" and the moon is often referred to by names which have the significance of "The-very-first-one"<sup>1)</sup>. The sense of these names is probably to be found in the ideas concerning the primeval time described before. Then the sun was hidden under the serpent or under the moon; consequently, the latter two were the first, and of course alone.

The relation of Nemoqwis to the serpent is sufficiently clear from this, but it also appears from other data. Not only Nemoqwis, but also Alakila, the eastern aspect of Qomogwa, possesses the water of life, and even in the same form<sup>2)</sup>. Further this close connection is proved by the fact that, according to the fullest version of the above-mentioned myth concerning the giant Food-giver, the latter obtains the sisiul canoe, not from the chief of the sisiuls, Bebenakaua, as was mentioned in the version quoted, but from Nemoqwis<sup>3)</sup>. Obviously Nemoqwis in many cases represents the underworld. He sets out for the North, whereas Qaneqelaku goes to the South. He is the sun which is swallowed up by the darkness, and is afterwards brought to life again, but he is also the dark power which threatens to destroy the sun, Qaneqelaku. He does not succeed, and his daughter, robbed of her deadly power, together with Qaneqelaku, bring forth the rising sun.

Nemoqwis also occurs in the genealogies of a figure which belongs to the same side of the system, namely, Nomas (Old-one)<sup>4)</sup>. Different reefs in the sea, conceived as houses of sea

1) 7c, p. 253, 452, etc.

2) Chapter III.

3) 12, p. 201.

4) 7c, p. 258; 15, p. 486.



monsters, are associated with him<sup>1)</sup>. For this reason, there is also a close genealogical relation between him and Qomogwa<sup>2)</sup>. The son of Nomas is a dreaded sisiul-thrower, and his daughter is also closely connected with the underworld, as appears from her very name Ghost-face-woman<sup>3)</sup>. Qaneqelaku is rather afraid of this son of Nomas<sup>4)</sup>. The relation to Nomas himself is variously described. Several passages relate that Qaneqelaku changes him into stone, but one myth states that they become friends and that Qaneqelaku gives salmon to Nomas<sup>5)</sup>. Here, again, we have the same ambivalence which was also found to characterize the relation between Qaneqelaku and Hayalikawae, and the one between Qaneqelaku and Nemoqwis.

Obviously Nomas belongs to the side of Nemoqwis and Qomogwa. Now it is told about the two tribes of the Newtette-Kwakiutl, that one (the Naqomgilisala) descends from Qaneqelaku and the other (the Lalasiqoala) from Nomas<sup>6)</sup>. Their names respectively mean "Always-staying-in-the-country" and "Those-on-the-ocean"; consequently, one tribe is associated with the land and the other with the sea. In our opinion it is quite evident that here we are dealing with the ancient tribal moieties (phratries) of the Kwakiutl, which, in the course of time, have become independent tribes. The antithesis land-sea, Qaneqelaku-Nomas, upperworld-underworld, is already quite significant in this respect. That it is quite usual for the phratries to be classified in this way, has been pointed out previously in connection with the totemic cosmological classification system. There are many more data which suggest that among these Kwakiutl the cosmological dualism was in former times connected with a social dualism. We shall not at present demonstrate this in detail; we may remind the reader of the fact that we have met with a similar antithesis in the two main groups of the winter ritual<sup>7)</sup>.

1) 19, p. 178.

2) 15, p. 267 ff.

3) 14, p. 195, 221.

4) 14, p. 211.

5) 76, p. 432; and other passages; friendly relation: 76, p. 433.

6) 84, p. 605.

7) Chapter V.

## VII. OTHER FORMS OF THE SERPENT.

In several Kwakiutl myths occurs a woman who acts as a good adviser and warns the principal characters in the myth of danger. She is in the back-part of the house of some supernatural beings and has this peculiarity that she is rooted to the floor by a vein, which leaves her body between the legs<sup>1</sup>). This vein belongs to the essence of her being, for, if it should be cut through, she would die. It is also impossible to dig the woman out, because the deeper one digs, the thicker the vein becomes. She plays a role, a. o., in some versions of the origin myth of cannibalism which has already been amply discussed. In one of these she warns the eldest son of Noaqaua and advises him to fly from the house of Baxbakualanuxsiwae with his brother. "Then the woman who was rooted to the floor of the house requested him not to stay long in the house. (She continued:) else you will be dead, that you may arrive in time at your house before Cannibal-at-north-end-of-world comes; for, as soon as he sees you, he will eat you right away. Go on!"<sup>2</sup>). When, later, Baxbakualanuxsiwae has been killed, this woman instructs Noaqaua and his people in the cannibalistic rites. This is also, as we saw, told of the wife of Baxbakualanuxsiwae. It is very peculiar, however, that exactly the same thing is told in this version. Here, her name is not Qominoqa, but Nanaqasilakwe (Treated-like-a-chief), and also of her, this version states that she "taught them the ways of her dead husband and his songs"<sup>3</sup>).

The cause of this functional similarity lies in the fact that these two figures are really identical, for they are both the serpent. While discussing the myth concerning Noaqaua, we have been able to demonstrate that he is identical with the serpent Qomogwa.

1) 14, p. 185; 15, p. 389; 6, p. 373; 6, p. 399; 74, p. 461.

2) 15, p. 389.

3) 15, p. 399.

His daughter, as well as the daughter of Qomogwa, is married with Baxbakualanuxsiwae, which we explained as a combination of the female and male aspects of the serpent, which is really bisexual. The identity of the woman who is rooted to the floor with the serpent appears from another version of the Noaqaua myth which mentions her as the daughter of Noaqaua<sup>1</sup>). In this other version no mention at all is made of a wife of Baxbakualanuxsiwae and, moreover, the tale deviates a little from the usual version. Baxbakualanuxsiwae is killed by cunning, not in the house of Noaqaua, but in his own house, and the one directing this is the woman rooted to the floor. Obviously the figure of Qominoqa is nothing but another aspect of Baxbakualanuxsiwae, for this version relates that she and another female servant die, when Baxbakualanuxsiwae is killed. Here she does not act as wife of Baxbakualanuxsiwae, but her unity with him is sufficiently clear now.

Thus, all these figures, in one way or another, represent the serpent and this is the reason why they can take over each other's functions. Their occurring side by side with each other in the same myth is explained by the rich variety of figures which continually presents itself in the mythology of these Indians.

The woman rooted to the floor, who represents the helping power of the serpent, occupies the same place in the Kwakiutl myths which is filled by the helpful old gammer in other mythologies. The latter figure indeed, also occurs in many fairy-tales. Since it is also evident from other passages that such a helpful old woman represents the serpent or, at any rate, the supernatural power, this may give us an explanation of the helpful old woman who always acts more or less suddenly<sup>2</sup>).

There is more which confirms our view that the woman rooted to the floor represents the serpent. A mask of the thunderbird, which is pictured here (Fig. III), shows, in its open form, a human head with a small figure on top of it which has a long vein at the

1) 6, p. 396 ff.

2) Cp. the kabajan in Indonesia (Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, deel 85, p. 469 ff.) and the role which Rassers ascribes to her in the Javanese theatre (51, p. 450). In Melanesia this old woman makes her appearance as a serpent, as Duyvendak points out in his book "Het Kakean-ge-nootschap van Seran", p. 163 ff. Rassers refers to this passage.

lower end of the back<sup>1)</sup>. Now we have already often proved that the serpent is connected quite closely with the thunderbird. Thus he represents the latter's flash of lightning and he may form a complete unity with it. The long vein of the small figure in the mask suggests that here we are dealing with the same conception as the one regarding the woman just discussed. This figure also evidently represents the serpent and, here, personates the power of the thunderbird.

The same type as shown by this small figure also characterizes Nonlemgila, a personality frequently pictured in Boas' chief work, a dwarf, whose name means Foolish-maker<sup>2)</sup>. He likewise represents the serpent. He is an actor in the cannibalistic ritual<sup>3)</sup> and, in one of the songs, is accosted as "the only greatest chief"<sup>4)</sup>. In the ceremonies of the toxuit society, belonging to the group which is directly dependent on the inspiration of Winalagilis, the Nonlemgila occasionally replaces the *sisiul*. "Other toxuit, instead of conjuring the *sisiul*, bring up the Nonlemgila (making foolish), a small human figure with movable head and arms. It dances about and then one or two birds are seen to fly down from the roof and alight on its head"<sup>5)</sup>. On the picture given by Boas we clearly see that the bird represents a sea gull, which is confirmed by another text<sup>6)</sup>. The sea gull also symbolizes the power of the serpent, for we have frequently found this bird to belong to the Qomogwa group (e. g. with Nenalaatsega). Sometimes only the head of the Nonlemgila is used in the dance, and further it is stated that he rises up out of the earth, which, in this connection, means that he comes from the underworld.

Another form of the serpent, the so-called dentsiq, is also used in the toxuit dance. The connection with the Nonlemgila is clearly indicated, for on one of the pictures (Fig. IV) we see a Nonlemgila standing on top of the dentsiq between the two points<sup>7)</sup>. Boas

1) From 13, Plate L, fig. 2.

2) 6, fig. 156—160; fig. 204, which represents the Olala of the Haida, shows the same type!

3) 6, p. 403.

4) 8b, p. 631—632.

5) 6, p. 492.

6) 6, fig. 158 and 159; 11, p. 15.

7) From 6, p. 506, fig. 155. The serpent shape is clearly discernible in this figure.



Fig. VII.



Fig. VIII.

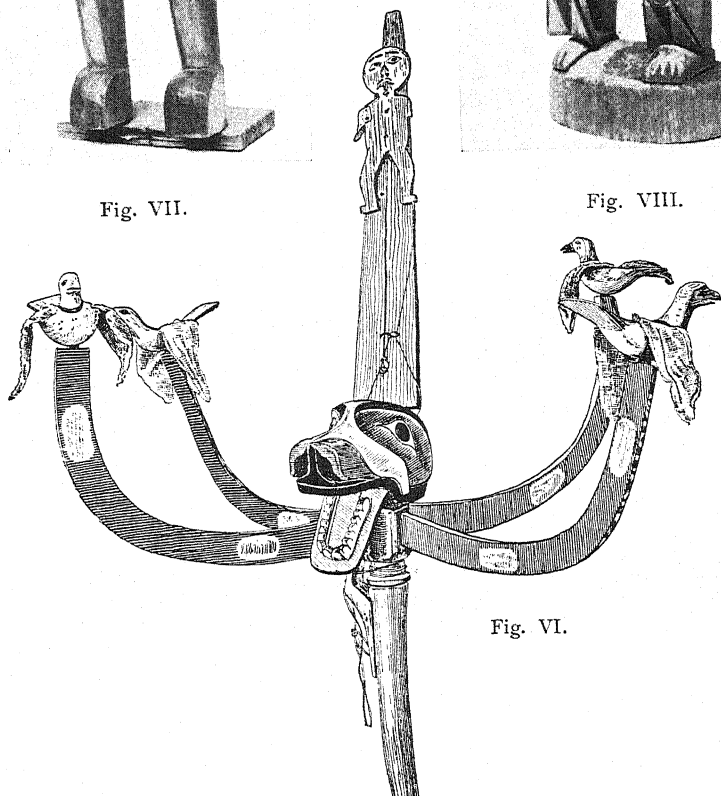


Fig. VI.

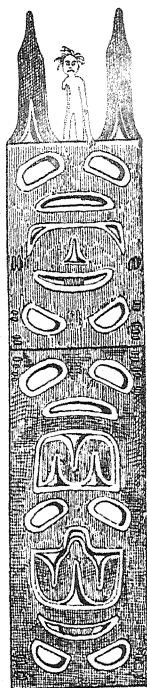


Fig. IV.



Fig. V.

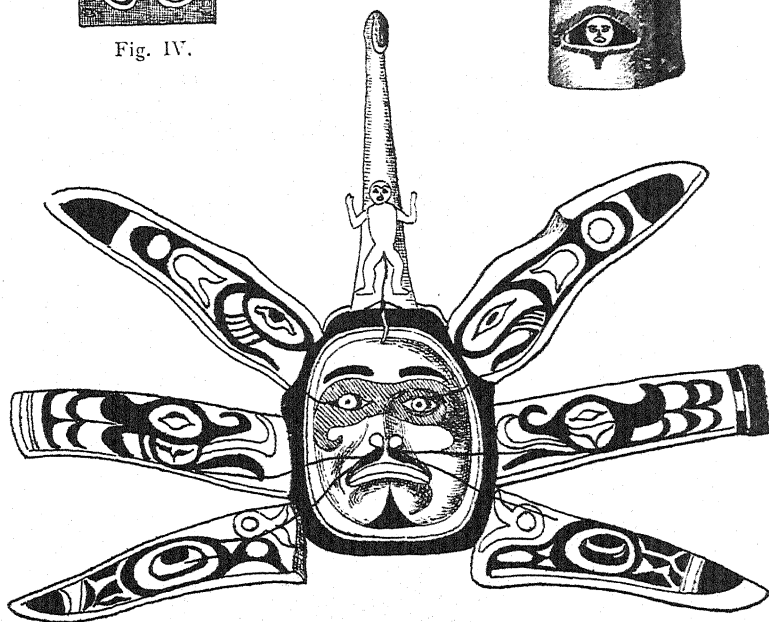


Fig. III.

says about the dentsiq: "In many of these dances, after the performer has been killed, the dentsiq arises from underground. It consists of a series flat, carved boards connected on their narrow sides by plugs which pass through rings of spruce root or through tubes cut out of cedar. The joints are somewhat loose, so that the whole can be given an undulating motion forward and backward. It has two or three points on top, and mica is glued on its painting. It is intended to represent the sisiul, but I am not able to interpret the carving in detail. The characteristic figure of the sisiul certainly does not appear on it" <sup>1)</sup>. The latter statement is not correct. The two points probably represent the two heads of the sisiul, and the Nonlemgila figure, in the middle between them, is the same personality as the human face in the sisiul. We saw that the Nonlemgila may also be represented as merely a human head. The same thing is indicated by one of his representatives on the other dentsiq (Fig. V), where he is pictured, not on top of, but in the dentsiq <sup>2)</sup>. The similarity between the Nonlemgila and the small figure in the thunderbird mask is especially evident on the first-mentioned dentsiq. The dentsiq itself, namely, may be regarded as the parallel of the vein of the other figure.

Lastly, there is one more example of the representation of this small figure on the sea otter mask pictured here (Fig. VI) <sup>3)</sup>. That the sea otter belongs to the group of Qomogwa, is not only evident from the sea gulls pictured on the mask, but also from the fact that in one of the versions of the myth concerning the journey to the country in the West, we meet the sea otter as chief of that region <sup>4)</sup>. Therefore it is not strange any more now that many versions of the said myth relate of a meeting with a dwarf in that region. It is mostly described how he is occupied with fishing. A version in which a certain Apotl is the chief character, relates that the latter takes the fishes away from the dwarf. "Bald sah er einen Mann, Namens Gyingyinaninimis (Zwerg), aus dem Meere

1) 6, p. 491—492.

2) From 6, Plate 39. Perhaps the other small figures represent embryos. In that case they are the novices within the god of initiation. We clearly notice that the holes indicate a number of faces under each other.

3) From 13, Plate XL, fig. 2.

4) 6, p. 365.

auftauchen, der in jeder Hand eine Heilbutte trug, welche er in's Boot warf. Sogleich sah dieser, dass seine Fische verschwunden waren, und rief: O, wer hat meine Heilbutten gestohlen! Apotl fürchtete sich und brachte ihm die geraubten Fische wieder" <sup>1)</sup>).

The present argument makes it likely that in the dwarf is to be seen the supernatural power. The association with the halibut confirms this, for the connection between halibut and serpent was evident in the myth concerning Nemoqwis, who, seated on a monstrous halibut, dives up from the sea. Moreover, the halibut occurs on a totem pole which, in another myth, is given away as a present by Qomogwa <sup>2)</sup>). All this makes it intelligible that the dwarf figures may be conceived as bisexual, for they represent the bisexual serpent. As such, they occur in the above-cited Tsimshian myth of the journey to the sky through the moon, during which the hermaphrodite dwarves attempt to lead the travellers to perdition <sup>3)</sup>). Since moon and underworld are subject to the same power and appear to be identical in many respects, we should regard these dwarves here as identical with the ones in the country of the West.

These bisexual dwarf figures are also met with in art. In the State Museum of Ethnography at Leiden are two wooden statuettes from our region, which, both of them, show the general type of the Nonlemgila. Both are associated with two fishes; the male figure (Fig. VII) is carrying them in his hands, exactly as described in the myth concerning Apotl, the female figure (recognizable by her labret) has them at her feet (Fig. VIII). The latter circumstance also clearly shows that dwarf and fish are one, for her hands end in fish heads! By this the unity of dwarf and serpent becomes still more evident. Obviously one statuette represents the male, and the other the female aspect of the supernatural power, i. e. the serpent.

Now the question remains, how that dwarf figure is to be ex-

1) 74, p. 263. In the next chapter we shall discuss the story of the fight between the birds and the dwarves, which occurs in several versions of this myth and also in the literature of classical antiquity.

2) 74, p. 255.

3) See also 23, p. 188. In 23, p. 456 Boas says that probably homosexual individuals are meant. However this may be, in any case it expresses bisexuality.



plained. It is entirely in accordance with the spirit of our argument, if we look for a possible explanation in the conception of the dwarf as the sun which sets in the West, and is the embryo of the new sun, or, in general as the power of the realm of the dead, in which the power of life is enclosed in germ. The embryo shows the features of an old manikin, but is also the personation of new life. Consistently, another myth says that this people of dwarves in the West is a people of children which have got lost<sup>1)</sup>. It goes without saying that, then, this conception must be closely related to the one of Mink. Although the latter is especially connected with the rising life in the East, some features, in fact, suggest a connection with the West. In the winter ritual, for example, the killerwhales, which belong to the quequtsa, protect Mink from the wolves<sup>2)</sup>, and in the myth concerning his acting as sun it is told that he is thrown into the sea by his father<sup>3)</sup>. Killerwhale and sea are both associated with Qomogwa. Therefore Mink, like Qomogwa, touches the West as well as the East, the beginning and the end of the road to life.

1) 7b, p. 335—336.

2) 6, p. 479; cp. 6, p. 563: "Kex and his friends, the killer whales".

3) 19, p. 176.

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## VIII. THE SERPENT AND WEALTH.

One of the most characteristic features of the Indian culture under discussion is the very prominent position of wealth. It goes without saying that an extensive treatment of this subject would lead us far beyond the original design of this study. Yet we cannot pass it over in silence, for here, if anywhere, it is apparent how intimately social, economic, and religious elements are connected and interlocked. It is not necessary to expose the social and economic elements, since Davy and Mauss have done so in detail and with great acumen in their well-known publications <sup>1)</sup>, but an inquiry into the religious aspect is by no means superfluous. As it is impossible to deal with the whole problem of wealth, even from the exclusively religious point of view, we shall mainly confine ourselves to the relation between serpent and wealth. In doing so, we may discover that this relation really contains the core of the phenomenon.

When we are speaking of the wealth of these Indian tribes, anybody who is ever so slightly acquainted with their culture, will remember that copper plays an important part in it. As gold in other cultures, so here copper is met with as a standard of value and honour. We should not forget, however, that the factors which here come into play in the valuation of copper, are quite different from the ones active with regard to the appreciation of gold in modern culture. The high value of copper is chiefly dependent on its occurrence as a more or less ceremonial object in the potlatch feasts. The pieces of copper used are T-shaped and have a totemic emblem on their upper part <sup>2)</sup>. The latter gives proof of a certain religious value, which fits in well with the character of the potlatch. These feasts, namely, are given at the critical

1) Davy in 25 and 48; Mauss in 44.

2) 6, p. 344.

in moments of life, such as: birth, name-giving, initiation, marriage, death; in short, at the passing of one phase into another, at the acquiring of a new *status*<sup>1</sup>). The most precious copper pieces possess a certain individuality, which manifests itself in each having its own tradition relating its origin (often in the form of a myth), and enumerating its successive possessors and the occasions at which it has filled a function<sup>2</sup>). The oftener such a copper piece has been used, the greater is its value.

But there is much more to be said about it. The principal question is, why these copper pieces occupy such a prominent place in the ritual feasts, and why the totemic figures are pictured on them. The answer to this question is that these objects are nothing but representations of the central divine power, in other words: of the serpent! One of the names of the serpent among the Kwakiutl, viz. Laqwagila (Copper-maker), already clearly shows the close connection between copper and the serpent. Copper-maker is the chief of the underworld, of the country in the North, where everything is of copper, as we saw in a myth previously described. The canoe shape in which the serpent shows itself repeatedly, is usually conceived as a copper canoe. The serpent, however, is also the personification of wealth in general. This appears from its other names Wealthy (Qomogwa) and Rich-woman (Qominoqa).

This association of serpent, copper, and wealth is also found among other tribes. In a Bella Coola myth we read that a certain Totosonx is travelling in the direction of the sun. "First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated a little farther to the north. When he saw the country from a distance, it looked like fire"<sup>3</sup>). Here everything is of copper, just as with Laqwagila. It is evident that this conception is exactly the same as the Kwakiutl one. In a state-

1) 48, p. 128. The complicated character of the potlatch cannot be exposed in detail here. The essence of the potlatch: "n'est pas autre chose que le système des dons échangés" (44, p. 90). See 48, p. 106 ff.

2) Cp. 44, p. 119.

3) 20, p. 51. The chief of this region is called Lalia in this passage; in another myth (7e, p. 191) is made mention of Tlalia as a daughter of the chief.

ment of Bancroft concerning the Nootka<sup>1)</sup>, the association of copper and the serpent is still more directly indicated, for here it is expressly told that the copper originates from the canoe of the deity, that means: from the deity himself, who, also here, is very probably the serpent. "The Nootkas, like so many American peoples, have a tradition of a supernatural teacher and benefactor, an old man that came to them up the Sound long ago. His canoe was copper, and the paddles of it copper; everything he had on him or about him was of the same metal. He landed and instructed the men of that day in many things; telling them that he came from the sky, that their country should be eventually destroyed, that they should all die but after death rise and live with him above. Then all the people rose up angry, and took his canoe from him, and slew him; a crime from which their descendants have derived much benefit, for copper and the use of it have remained with them ever since". The description of this figure mentions several features which are exactly the same as those which, among the Kwakiutl, are ascribed to the serpent. Further, we notice the same unity of sky god and serpent here, which we, occasionally, also found among the Kwakiutl. The unity of the divine power manifests itself in it, so strongly even, that this figure may also show the characteristics of a benefactor and culture hero. Thus the three aspects of the divine power are combined in him. Therefore copper is, also fit to be a symbol of the divine power in general, for example, to represent the sun as well as the moon.

Just as with the Nootka, so also among the northern coast tribes the conception exists that copper originates from the canoe of the serpent. The previously discussed myth of the girl enticed away by the bears is regarded there as the origin myth of copper, and this explains why, in one of the Tlingit versions, it occurs under the title of "The origin of copper"<sup>2)</sup>. All the versions relate that the canoe was of copper, and in many it is added that the son or grandson of this girl acquired the canoe of her husband, the sea god, and made copper pieces out of it. This Tlingit myth explicitly adds: "In these days there was no iron or copper".

1) 5, p. 151.

2) 57, p. 252.

But this is not the only idea prevailing there; we also meet with the conception of the serpent as personification of possession in general. And also the Kwakiutl distinction between Wealthy and Rich-woman is represented here; in other words: the serpent as giver of wealth is conceived both as male and as female. Concerning Gonaqadet, the sea god of the Tlingit, we read: "He lives in the sea, and brings power and fortune to all who see him"<sup>1)</sup>; but, besides him, there also occurs a woman, Lennaxidaq, who, likewise, bestows luck and wealth. She travels about with her child and gives luck to anybody who sees, hears or touches either herself or her child<sup>2)</sup>. Now it is told of this child that, on one occasion, it was taken away by somebody, and that, in the following night, it dug out and ate the eyes of many people. This sufficiently proves that also Lennaxidaq represents the power of the underworld. We find the same story with the Tsimshian<sup>3)</sup>. At the end of this version it is stated that the woman, after hearing what the child has done, travels from her lake to the sea, and becomes the sea monster Hakulaq, in the shape of half a woman and half a fish. Other passages give to understand that this Hakulaq is the sea god and should be regarded as a figure parallel with Qomogwa and Gonaqadet<sup>4)</sup>. We see that there exists an identity between the sea god and the female personification of possession, just as between Qomogwa and Qominoqa among the Kwakiutl, for in all these cases we are dealing with the serpent. Also the Haida know this female personification of wealth, namely in the figure of Property-woman (Skil-djaadai), as she is significantly called<sup>5)</sup>. According to Swanton, she is perfectly equivalent to Lennaxidaq<sup>6)</sup>. Moreover, she seems to be identical with the "queen" of the Haida game<sup>7)</sup>.

From all this we may safely conclude that, among all these

1) 30, p. 330; cp. 23, p. 835 ff.

2) 57, p. 173 ff., p. 293 ff., p. 366 ff.; cp. 57, p. 112 where Lennaxidaq-that-lives-in-the-water is mentioned.

3) 23, p. 154—158.

4) Cp. 6, p. 327 and 23, p. 783.

5) 61, p. 29; cp. 44, p. 112.

6) 57, p. 292, note a.

7) 44, p. 113, note 1.

tribes, the serpent is the god of wealth and is represented by wealth, especially by copper pieces<sup>1</sup>). This conclusion furnishes a deeper insight into the significance of wealth for the whole of this culture. We meet with its influence in the conception of sun and moon. The Tlingit, for example, call the moon wealthy and the sun poor, for the serpent is identical with the moon god<sup>2</sup>). But the serpent may also be the divine power in general, and we frequently found a close relation between sun and moon; therefore it is not strange that we also meet with an intimate connection between sun and copper. We read that, according to Bella Coola views, the copper land is situated in the Northwest and shines like a fire blaze. Probably this conception has been influenced by the sun setting in a copper glow, owing to which it was almost necessarily associated with this metal. A striking illustration of this connection is given by a myth which relates about the death of the giant Food-giver due to his brother-in-law, who had also obtained possession of supernatural power. Among the latter's supernatural gifts was a copper piece. In the myth it is told that the sun disappeared when the possessor of the copper piece kept it hidden somewhere, and did not begin to shine, until he took it out again<sup>3</sup>).

Seeing that the copper pieces represent the central supernatural power, it is quite intelligible that they may be provided with totemic emblems<sup>4</sup>). The serpent is the central power from which the totems draw their power. He contains the mana of the system. Mauss, in his "Essai sur le don", has drawn our attention to the notion of mana in the valuation of wealth in this culture<sup>5</sup>) and, in general, has pointed out the connection with religious ideas, but neither he nor Davy has noticed the actual relation to the serpent. Also Davy has discussed the connection between wealth

1) Besides the copper pieces also abalone shells and blankets loom prominently in the traffic of ceremonial exchange. These are likewise connected with figures of the religious system. Skin-dresser (Alakila) is of course in relation with the blankets and the god of the West (Aihtsumgyila) is the maker of the halotis shells (abalone shells), cp. 7c, p. 455—456; see also 44, p. 115—117, specially the footnotes.

2) 38, p. 270.

3) 7b, p. 394.

4) 6, p. 344.

5) 44, p. 117, note 5.

and religion. He says about the potlatch, for example: „Le potlatch est le rite constant des confréries”<sup>1)</sup>, from which statement it is evident that, according to him, there is some connection between the winter ritual and the potlatch. This connection is the more obvious since we know the serpent to be the central figure in both of them.

Now we shall have to discuss two central ideas of the potlatch a little more fully. The first one is the idea of sacrifice, which leads us to the same notion which we found in the winter ritual. The second one is the conception of the potlatch as a combat, by which is manifested its close relation to war<sup>2)</sup>.

The sacrificial character of the potlatch is easy to prove from several passages in the texts. Formerly, it was a custom among these Indians to kill slaves and to bury them under house posts and totem poles. Instead of killing slaves it was also allowed to set them free. Consequently this act had the same function. The same thing is mentioned with regard to the copper pieces which were fit to be used instead of slaves. “In other cases coppers were buried under the posts or given away”, we are informed by Boas<sup>3)</sup>. This equalization of sacrificing slaves and giving away or destroying copper pieces also shows itself on the occasion of the initiation sacrifice. “At the time of the initiation of a member of the clan slaves were also killed or coppers destroyed...”<sup>4)</sup>. But if the giving away of copper pieces is a sacrificial act, it follows that the whole exchange traffic of the potlatch is, really, nothing but one great sacrificial rite. This manifests itself most clearly in the quite common potlatch act of destroying precious copper pieces, by means of which the person who makes this sacrifice acquires great consideration and power<sup>5)</sup>. This destroying is not only a sacrifice of divine power, but, originally, also meant sacrificing oneself to the deity. Boas, with regard to the totem

1) 48, p. 123. Cp. this whole chapter (p. 118—123).

2) Some remarks concerning these two central ideas of the potlatch are made by Mauss in note 1 of 44, p. 95; as to the sacrifice cp. 44, p. 108.

3) 6, p. 357.

4) 6, p. 357.

5) With regard to what follows is to be consulted in general the chapter on the potlatch, 6, p. 341—358.

of the copper piece namely, states: "The front of the copper is covered with black lead in which a face, representing the crest animal of the owner, is graven" <sup>1)</sup>; from which is to be concluded that, as long as the idea of the unity of totem and totem-owner was still living, the copper piece was thought to be a part of the being of its possessor. But then this act was also a rebirth rite, a passing on to a new phase of life. This is entirely in accordance with our earlier statement concerning the potlatch, namely, that it is especially performed at the adoption of a new status. Davy says about it: „Dans les sociétés à potlatch, où les échanges sont cependant si actifs, les biens ne circulent et ne changent de propriétaires qu'à l'occasion des changements de *status* des personnes" <sup>2)</sup>. This notion of passing on to a new phase of life we also found in the winter ritual. As a matter of fact, the very principle of the potlatch is intimately bound up with the root idea of the winter ritual. Just as light and life, so also honour and wealth are acquired through destruction and ruin. He who gives a potlatch gathers as much property as possible, with the assistance of his group, and by means of this offers his rival a feast at which everything is given away or destroyed. After a definite time however, this rival has to acquit himself of a return performance at which the other is repaid with usury.

Besides the conception of sacrifice, also the idea of combat belongs to the most essential elements of the potlatch complex. Both potlatch and war are under the sway of the serpent and may even replace each other. In order to understand what follows, we should first briefly account for the connection between serpent and war. We have already pointed out that in war the societies enter into their duties, indifferent whether or not it is *tsetsaeqa* time <sup>3)</sup>. War is wholly regarded as a service to the serpent, in which the latter receives a sacrifice. The warriors really become one with the demonic power, as is clearly indicated in several passages. When it has been resolved to make a raid of revenge, the chief Neqapenkem says: "Now Kwakiutl we will soar up and

1) 6, p. 344.

2) 48, p. 128.

3) Chapter IV.



catch in our talons the Bilxula. We will be the great thunderbird" <sup>1</sup>). That he is referring to Winalagilis as thunderbird, appears from another utterance in which he states that they are no longer men, but have become killer whales, which, according to the classification system, means that they have become one with the serpent. "Friends, now our season will change from baxus to tsetsaeqa as soon as we cut the head of a man. Then our hamatsa, bears and nulmal, the hawinalal, and all other winter dancers, will become excited . . . Now we are no longer men, we are killer whales" <sup>2</sup>). Obviously the destroying power of the serpent is the central element in these raids, which, through the action of the societies, are performed like genuine rites. The leadership, indeed, is not confided to an arbitrary war chief. Maxula, another chief, in the same description says: "And I will be your guide, for my ancestor was the killer whale" <sup>3</sup>). For this reason he is considered an appropriate leader in the serpent ritual. Lastly, we may draw the attention to one more ceremony, which takes place before the raid is started. After the warriors and their wives have purified themselves, a ritual fight is performed between the sexes. "They wiped themselves and then men and women met. Now the hamatsa, bear dancers and nulmal, and all other dancers became excited. The women did the same and then men and women pretended to fight" <sup>4</sup>). This ceremony is also suggestive of the ritual character of war, for probably it bears upon the bisexual character of the war god. Further it gives expression to the antagonism between the sexes, which also in the marriage ceremonies appears to be connected with the serpent. Marriage, namely, is regarded as a combat. The celebration of distinguished marriages, indeed, requires a sham fight, preferably with some bloodshed, between the groups of the woman and the man <sup>5</sup>).

The act of courting a woman is expressed as follows by one of the envoys of a young man who wants to marry a girl: "I and my friends will go now *to make war* upon the daughters of all the

1) 6, p. 427. Bilxula is a more phonetic spelling for Bella Coola.

2) 6, p. 429.

3) 6, p. 429.

4) 6, p. 428.

5) 16, p. 968—969 and p. 1022—1023.

chiefs all over the world" <sup>1)</sup>; and, like the warriors in the war raid described above, these envoys feel themselves as one with the serpent, for another envoy of an aspirant son-in-law says to the father-in-law: "I am the double-headed snake. There is nothing in the world, that I am unable to obtain" <sup>2)</sup>. The father-in-law, on his side, shows the mask of a sea bear (i. e. the serpent, as we have learned from the description of Qomogwa and the bear), from which appear the skulls of the former candidates; in their fight for the bride they have been unlucky and have been crushed by the serpent <sup>3)</sup>. Not only in the marriage ceremony, but also when the marriage gift is paid back by the father-in-law to the son-in-law, the serpent appears on the stage. Then the combat between the two groups is finished <sup>4)</sup> and the son-in-law acquires part of the rights and functions of the father-in-law. This relation of the father-in-law to the son-in-law is of central interest with regard to the potlatch, for among the Kwakiutl the great potlatch is exactly the one which is given by means of the returned marriage gift. This returning takes place when the marriage has been prolific and the children are candidates for the initiation into the winter ritual. Quite interesting is the description of the repayment ceremony, which is performed as a rite with a sacrifice of the serpent in behalf of the son-in-law at the end.

This ceremony may take place in the tsetsaeqa as well as in the baxus time, although the societies act in it. Boas describes both cases <sup>5)</sup>. The deviations are, however, not considerable. For a while, the father-in-law, assisted by his clan, gathers a great wealth in food, blankets, dishes, spoons, armlets, copper pieces, ceremonial box lids, and so on. The clan functions in this, even if it is tsetsaeqa time, although this form of social organization is for the

1) 6, p. 359.

2) 6, p. 362.

3) 6, p. 363. This is a ritual scene.

4) After the repayment the marriage may be regarded as dissolved. Then exchanges of gifts often take place again (6, p. 359). This is mostly done in order to be able to exchange. Also in other respects this is true. Cp. the following statement of Davy: "ainsi on multiplie les adoptions ou les mariages du chef par exemple, d'une façon tout à fait fictive et dans le seul but d'accomplir des échanges qui ne pourraient se réaliser sans cela" (48, p. 128).

5) 6, p. 421 ff. (baxus); p. 518 ff. (tsetsaeqa).

time being thrown into the background by the division into societies. The father-in-law informs his fellow clansmen, which names and dances he is going to give to his son-in-law. In the meantime the son-in-law also has gathered the members of his clan and instructed them to dress up and to paint themselves as beautifully as possible. When this has been done, they go to the house of the son-in-law and sit down in the open space in front of the house. "They remain in front of their house while the father-in-law's people take the ceremonial box lids and place them in the form of a square, the sides of which are about 100 feet long. This is called the canoe (*mawa*) and all the property that is to be given to the son-in-law is placed in this enclosure. From one or two corners of this *canoe* cedar bark ropes are stretched to the front corners of the young man's house. All the spoons and dishes which the father-in-law is going to give away are tied to them. They are called the anchor line of the canoe" <sup>1)</sup>. The clan of the father-in-law, to which also the son-in-law's wife belongs, goes into the canoe. The two groups sing their songs by turns. "Then the wife of the son-in-law steps out of the canoe dressed in her best. She wears a blanket set with abalone shells. A large abalone shell is fastened to her nose by strings which pass over her ears, as the shell is too heavy to be worn suspended from the septum. For the same reason her earrings are worn suspended from the hair. She performs a dance, after which her ornaments are given to her husband" <sup>2)</sup>.

We know of the abalone that it is one of the signs of the sun. The name of the sunrise mask *Extsematuselagilis* has been stated to mean: *Abalone-shell-from-one-end-of-the-world-to-the-other* <sup>3)</sup>. The canoe in which is all the wealth, is, of course, nothing but a representation of the serpent. The dance of the woman is probably to be regarded as the sunrise dance; in that case she is the sun which has come out of the serpent (the canoe). The repayment takes place, when the marriage has been prolific. This explains the idea of the rising sun or, in other words: of the newly born life, in this connection.

1) 6, p. 422.

2) 6, p. 422.

3) 6, p. 411.

When this ceremony is over, besides the property also the badges and whistles of the winter dance are transferred. In baxus time this is done under a blanket, for during that time nobody is allowed to see them <sup>1)</sup>; in winter time they are handed over in a box by the master of ceremonies. In doing this he utters the cry of the powerful Hayalikawae, who has the disposition of the sisiul <sup>2)</sup>). After this there is performed a very important act. "After all the presents have been given, the son-in-law and a few of his friends go to his house. The rest of his friends go up behind the houses and walk secretly up to the end of the village. When they have assembled there, they suddenly rush down to the canoe and with an ax split one of the box covers forming a corner of the canoe. While they are doing so the men who went into the house are beating time and the members of the secret societies utter their cries, although it is baxus season. This is called: sinking the canoe" <sup>3)</sup>). The song obviously means that now all the wealth has come to the son-in-law, who further divides it among his group. One of the lines run: "Wealth is rolling down to him from all sides; all the chiefs go to him for protection" <sup>4)</sup>). As a result of the ritual destruction of the serpent, the latter's power has come to the son-in-law, who now draws all the riches to himself and acquires great power.

Owing to the fact that, in this culture, the potlatch has more and more become a means to acquire a status, and in this way has brought about an individualization of the power, it may at present also function as the form in which the rivalry between individuals, clans, and even whole tribes, finds expression <sup>5)</sup>). It is attempted to overtrump each other in the potlatch. If a man is not able to acquit himself of a fully equivalent return performance, then his name is considered as broken, and by this he loses not only his honour and consideration, but also his position in the religious, the social, and the economic system <sup>6)</sup>). Also with regard

1) 6, p. 423.

2) 6, p. 519.

3) 6, p. 423.

4) 6, p. 424.

5) Mauss mentions a potlatch between Bella Coola and Kwakiutl (44, p. 65, note 2).

6) 6, p. 354; cp. 16, p. 1115.

to the destruction of wealth, the rival is often obliged to answer with a return performance. In this way there came into being a circular course of performances and return performances which, more recently, came to replace the unremittingly proceeding series of war raids. The following information given by Boas is typical: "Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival. Formerly feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, rivals fight with property only" <sup>1</sup>). Just as the warrior who goes forth to war, so also the potlatch-giver feels himself one with the serpent. Neqapenkem, at a potlatch, says: "I am the one from whom comes down and from whom is untied the red cedar bark for the chiefs of the tribes. Do not grumble, tribes! do not grumble in the house of the great double chief, who makes that all are afraid to die at his hands, over whose body is sprinkled the blood of all those who tried to eat in the house of the double chief, of the really great chief" <sup>2</sup>). In a footnote Boas explains this "double chief". It means: "the war chief and the potlatch chief". We saw that the serpent is the central figure of the war and of the potlatch; an additional proof that the expression refers to him is furnished by the statement that the "double chief" is the giver of the red cedar bark. The potlatch chief destroys his rivals by means of the serpent, for he defeats them by his great wealth of property, specially of copper pieces. A potlatch song says about some precious copper piece: "Ya! the sisiul is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people" <sup>3</sup>). The chiefs of tribes are occasionally compared with shattered copper pieces <sup>4</sup>); their power (mana!), as well as that of the sacrificed copper pieces, has been appropriated by the potlatch-giver. It goes without saying that in the long run ever more participators will fall out in this fight and group themselves round some powerful chief, when no longer only fixed groups are concerned in the contest, but the latter is more and more

1) 6, p. 343.

2) 6, p. 356.

3) 6, p. 358.

4) 6, p. 355.

changing into a combat between certain powerful leaders for the highest rank. This development of the individualization of power within a small group of powerful chiefs has been clearly pointed out by Davy. The old system of the Kwakiutl has been broken up by it, for in this manner there came into existence a hereditary rank of nobles with a strong tendency toward primogeniture<sup>1)</sup>. Moreover, we notice that the exogamy is being superseded by a growing tendency toward endogamy<sup>2)</sup>, so that the relation of a son-in-law to his father-in-law lies within their own common group, and the property and rights cannot be lost to groups which theirs is not willing to associate with on an equal footing. It is in connection with this that, among all these coast tribes, we meet with the phenomenon that the rights and emblems concentrate round such persons of high standing. A fixed order of precedence as to rank has developed itself with regard to both the clans and the highly considered names in them, and especially in the potlatch one has to pay regard to this scheme, which is said to originate from primeval times. "The legend says that the order of seats was given by the deity at a festival of the tribes, at the time when animals were still able to speak. The noblest clan, and among them the noblest name, is called the eagle (kueku) of the tribe"<sup>3)</sup>. In other words, the noblest group and the noblest individual among its members occupy the same place in the social system which belongs to the eagle in the religious system. This is not at all strange, really, for their power and wealth are bound up with the religious belief. They are the most powerful possessors of the central divine power, of mana. Among the Nootka it is quite evident that, owing to this, there exists a special relation between the deity and people of high standing. None but they are allowed to pray to the supreme deity in times of distress, and none but they know his name, which is kept secret, and is whispered, together

1) Cp. 16, p. 1087.

2) 16, p. 781. This is frankly given to understand in 16, p. 782: "They marry the daughters of their younger brothers. Then the one whom I asked said to me that they do this because they do not want their privileges to go out of their family. They keep their privileges among themselves by doing so". Besides this there exists a tendency to marry with people of high standing outside one's own tribe (16, p. 783). On endogamy with the Bella Coola cp. 1, p. 233.

3) 6, p. 339.

with the prayer, by a dying man to his successor<sup>1)</sup>). Also among the other tribes we find evidence suggestive of this special relation of people of high standing to the deity and to the religious cult. Among the Kwakiutl for example the membership of certain societies necessarily remains confined to a small group owing to the number of required potlatch feasts. In former times this accession was almost entirely governed by hereditary rights according to the social system in force. But this old organization was broken up by the new development without, however, disappearing altogether. Through the potlatch almost everything might be acquired, for in the long run it became a self-sufficient means to obtain or to legalize a new status, but still we notice that the old forms are often kept up. By means of a sham marriage, for example, one acquires the rights which were formerly always passed on from son-in-law to son-in-law<sup>2)</sup>). Following up this line of thought would carry us too far, but it was necessary to touch upon this matter in order to show the importance of the potlatch and, especially, to point out how religion, social organization, and economic life are intimately bound up with each other, and how their true connection is not to be understood unless the significance of the serpent is taken as a starting-point. At the same time this discussion has paved the way for a comparison between the culture we are dealing with and some phenomena in the culture of ancient Egypt.

1) I, p. 379. For the aristocracy among the Kwakiutl see I, p. 249 ff; among the Nootka p. 371 ff.

2) 6, p. 359. That these rights were passed on from son-in-law to son-in-law is plainly stated in 16, p. 1358.

## IX. SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE SERPENT IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

Thus far we have strictly confined ourselves to the Northwest coast area of North America without taking notice of all possible serpent ideas elsewhere. When we now describe a few ancient Egyptian conceptions relating to the serpent, it is not for the purpose of making our argument more convincing, for its cogency ought to be sufficient in itself. The reason for adducing this parallel lies in the striking similarity between some elements in ancient Egyptian and in Northwest American culture. We should not have ventured on this comparison, as we are not able to draw our knowledge directly from the sources, if not the important book „Des clans aux empires”<sup>1)</sup>, which owes its existence to the collaboration of the ethnologist Davy and the well-known egyptologist Moret, had drawn attention to the problem of the relation between these two cultures. The following discussion does not pretend to be more than a contribution to our understanding of this relation. It should first be expressly stated, however, that we do not by any means use the term “relation” in the sense of the school of Elliot Smith and Perry. On the contrary, we most decidedly reject their fantastic theory — to put it mildly — that all culture elements of any importance among primitives have been introduced from Egypt<sup>2)</sup>.

The religion and the social organization of ancient Egypt are obviously rooted in a totemic cosmological classification system. For a long time the idea of a connection between Egyptian religion and totemism has been utterly rejectable to many egyptologists<sup>3)</sup>, but at present the possibility of this connection is more and more

1) 48. It is the great merit of Moret, that he continually accentuated the question of the relation with totemism.

2) Cp. 50

3) 48, p. 166.



admitted. Peet for example, in the Cambridge Ancient History, considers the existence of a totemic phase in prehistoric times as probable, and notices its influence on more recent religious ideas, but for all that he regards the later cosmic system with its sun cult as originally quite independent of totemism. "The impression we receive is that sun-worship, and indeed the whole cosmic system of which it is typical, was secondary in Egypt, imposing itself on a substratum of totemism. In any case, whatever doubts there may be on this point, one thing is clear, namely that nine-tenth of the mythology of Ancient Egypt is cosmic in origin, and that it was grafted on to a totemic system with which *it had originally no connection*"<sup>1)</sup>. The untenableness of this opinion will, as we hope, be sufficiently evident from what follows.

Just as the tribe among primitives, so in Egypt the realm is considered to encompass everything. The dualism of the two phratries is here represented by the relation between Upper- and Lower-Egypt, which bears a pre-eminently religious character<sup>2)</sup>. This is apparent from the fact that the two parts are associated with the two halves of the Cosmos and with the figures of Seth and Horus, a dual unity in which the conflicting cosmic elements are united. The two antagonistic phratries of primitive peoples usually assist each other in the obsequial rites. The same thing is told of Seth and Horus. "Seth helped Horus in the offices for the dead"<sup>3)</sup>. The same dual unity is represented by the egyptian king, as is very clearly indicated by the double crown. The king is the master of both regions, but this also means that he comprises the two cosmic parts which are connected with the notions of South and North<sup>4)</sup>. This dualistic concept is also closely associated with the idea that the king is the master of life and death. The ancient Egyptians regarded the serpent as the symbol of this conception<sup>5)</sup>, as is still the case with the primitives. Here also the serpent is the divine power in the monistic sense and, at the same time, the power of the underworld which threatens to destroy life. He is

1) Vol. I p. 331.

2) 62, p. 55; cp. 39, p. 20.

3) 50, p. 273.

4) 62, p. 55.

5) 39, p. 27.

the mana of the system, the force to which the gods owe their existence. Therefore he is called "the life of the gods" <sup>1)</sup>). He forms a unity with the falcon, and this unity entirely corresponds to the one of thunderbird and serpent among the Kwakiutl. In Egypt the falcon is the symbol of the upperworld <sup>2)</sup>). He is the supreme deity, closely associated with the sun. His unity with the serpent is evident from the representation of the serpent <sup>3)</sup>) with a falcon head and their appearing together in the pictural representation of the sun. „Eine sehr häufige Erscheinung in der ägyptischen Kunst ist die mit ein oder zwei Schlangenpaaren und mit Falkenflügeln (bisweilen auch mit Falkenschwanz) ausgestattete Sonne" <sup>4)</sup>). This unity also manifests itself in the pictures of the king. It is generally known that in Egypt the king is regarded as the incarnation of the falcon god <sup>5)</sup>). He is the representative of the supreme deity and, consequently, comprises the whole system, as, indeed, was already evident from what has just been mentioned. For this reason he is usually pictured with a serpent, which may be done in different ways. Moret gives one of these pictures, with the explanatory statement: „Le Faucon-roi serpent" <sup>6)</sup>). From the following quotation may be concluded that the king is regarded as an incarnation of the thunderbird, which terrifies the enemies by means of the serpent as a flash of lightning. „Le roi dispose aussi d'une autre forme du feu céleste, la foudre, que crache l'uraeus qui ceint ses couronnes, et que symbolise le sceptre w a s, parfois tordu comme l'éclair, qu'il tient en main. Grâce à cette arme magique, et par les rugissements, semblables aux éclats du tonnerre, qu'il fait entendre contre ses ennemis, le roi terrifie ceux qui voudraient attaquer son peuple" <sup>7)</sup>). Among the Kwakiutl one of the leaders said that, like the thunderbird, they were going to clutch the enemies. The same idea is expressed in an ancient Egyptian picture. There the falcon comes flying with a great

1) 39, p. 28.

2) 62. p. 22. ff.

3) 52, p. 2.

4) 52, p. 11.

5) 48, p. 156.

6) 47, Plate III fig. 2.

7) 48, p. 171.

number of prisoners of war in its talons. This picture represents the victory of king Narmer <sup>1)</sup>).

Beside the monistic aspect the dualistic one is very clearly expressed in the representation of the descent of the sun into the underworld and its arising therefrom <sup>2)</sup>). In the evening the sun sets into the serpent in the West and in the morning it arises from the mouth, after having overcome the power of the serpent. Now it is a striking fact that both the sun itself and its boat may also be represented as a serpent, as is also the case with the sun arising in the East <sup>3)</sup>)! It will be noticed that this is exactly the same conception as the one found with the Kwakiutl, where Noaqaua, representing the sun in the underworld, as well as Baxbakualanux-siwae, the hostile power of darkness, were conceived as a serpent, and where Alakila, the eastern aspect of the serpent Qomogwa, was the god of light and life which are rising up from the underworld. Also in Egypt this is considered a repetition of what happened at the beginning of primeval times; and the character of rebirth, of an acquiring of life through death, has been very convincingly pointed out, as far as Egypt is concerned, by Kristensen in his fine study „Het leven uit den dood”. Beside the cosmic rebirth we also meet with a rebirth of society in a rebirth rite which the king has to undergo at the feast Sed <sup>4)</sup>). Of course this is also really a cosmic rebirth, as the king figures as Osiris in it. The cosmic significance of the king is also apparent from his name Pharaoh, which means “the great house” <sup>5)</sup>). The king is the house, which in many primitive cultures represent the Cosmos, and therefore his life is bound up with that of the whole Cosmos. In this respect he has taken over the role of the primitive tribe, which phenomenon is rightly ascribed by Davy to an individualization of the power, the mana. We cannot, however, fully agree with the opinion of Moret and Davy concerning the development of the ancient Egyptian state of affairs out of a totemistic phase.

1) 47, p. 152 fig. 31: 2; cp. 48, p. 160 fig. 6.

2) 39, p. 27 ff. Here also there is an identity between the nocturnal sky and the underworld as among the Kwakiutl.

3) 39, p. 28 fig. 4 and fig. 5; 41, p. 279; cp. 52, p. 17.

4) 48, p. 175; cp. 48a, p. 151.

5) 48a, p. 158—159.

Moret is right when he explains the nomes as earlier totemic groups<sup>1)</sup>, but he, no less than Davy, is in his further explanations too much influenced by a rather simplistic notion of a progressive individualization and consolidation of the power out of an originally more or less communistic stage of society<sup>2)</sup>. They also apply this hypothesis to the religion. But if ethnological research of more recent years has brought anything to light, it is the erroneousness of this view. It is found that in none of the primitive cultures concerning which we possess extensive and reliable data there is the slightest evidence of the individual family (the core of the family: the household consisting of a married couple and their children) having developed out of the clan (the traditional exogamous patrilineal or matrilineal group), or of all the gods having come into existence through the concentration of totems and the individualization of mana. We certainly notice some shifting of emphasis and some moving in this direction, but it is also obvious that both the individual family and the supreme deity have *always* formed part of the unilateral and totemic cosmological system. Moreover, we find Moret's theory to have the defect of neglecting the dualism of both the social and the cosmological aspects of the system<sup>3)</sup>. He explains its development as a process of more or less accidental syncretion of some and domination of other totems. He is also too much inclined to reconstruct a historical development out of the mythical description of the system<sup>4)</sup>. Even if some historical matter is worked up in this description, we have to start from the idea that the connections are in the first place to be understood from the system itself. This is especially true of the mythical genealogies.

In the following we shall venture on an attempt to construct a line of development which in some respects deviates from the

1) 48a Chapter II.

2) 48, p. 5 ff. and p. 408—409.

3) Therefore Thierry could use this dualism as an argument against the theory of Moret (62, p. 46) while his argument is exactly in favour of the totemic theory, if we understand totemism as we have done in our treatise. According to our view then also his other objections disappear. He himself continually draws parallels with primitive culture.

4) 48a, Chapter III and IV.

one suggested by Moret. We shall start from the relation between serpent and sun and between serpent and bird, such as we have found to exist both among the Kwakiutl and in ancient Egypt. It is also instructive, more especially with a view to the relation of sun, king, and nobility, to compare the former system of the Natchez Indians in the Southeast of the United States, which has been closely studied by de Josselin de Jong<sup>1</sup>).

We found that among the Kwakiutl the noblest clan and the noblest member of this clan were called eagle and, consequently, occupied the same place in the social system as belonged to the supreme deity associated with the sun, in the religious system. We were able to point out that among these tribes the nobility is thought to stand in another relation to the supreme deity than the commoners, and we explained this from the conception that the nobility has the disposal of the divine power, which was largely determined, either directly or indirectly, by the possession of wealth or, in other words, by the possession of the serpent's power! A great variety of totemic emblems, rights, and suchlike, grouped themselves round these nobles, because they became the central figures of the social and the religious system. In order to prevent their being lost, the exogamous organization, which formerly embraced the whole tribe, was no longer observed and there was even coming up a strong tendency towards endogamy or marriage with nobles of other tribes. This tendency towards endogamy is also noticed among the Natchez, but there the clans have disappeared instead of the phratries, which still exercised a great influence. It goes without saying that, in this case, endogamy will less easily prevail, for the two phratries of a dual organization are much more resisting than an exogamous clan grouping which has lost its coherence with the phratries. Among the Natchez, nevertheless, the two phratries had obtained a typical class character. One, which was divided into three ranks, formed the nobility, the other was the group of commoners. The nobility as a whole was still exogamous. Rank and class were hereditary in the female line, although this rule was not observed quite consistently. When for example a nobleman of the highest rank

1) Cp. 37.

married a commoner woman, then their children did not belong to the class of commoners, but to the second rank of the nobility. Thus the mother's status, though it did have some influence, was not decisive. Endogamy was frequent in the class of commoners; to this they probably owed their appellation of stinkers, for it was still deemed improper. With regard to our subject it is of special interest that the highest rank of the nobility were called suns, while the divine king had the title of "great sun". Probably this rank had developed from the former noblest clan, the noblest individual of this clan having become king and the true representative of the deity. This explanation is at least suggested by the conditions among the Kwakiutl. Further it is of interest for our comparison with Egypt that here also exists the antithesis between a red and a white group. All men capable of wearing arms are divided into these two groups, which also act opposite each other in ceremonies. The king is the head of the superior white group, and the warrior chief is the head of the inferior red group. This is a little different in Egypt, where the king wears both the white crown of Upper-Egypt and the red crown of Lower-Egypt, and encompasses the whole system, the power of the upperworld as well as of the underworld. Now the question arises whether this association with the two colours and with the two animals falcon and serpent is based upon an accidental predominance of certain groups which happened to possess these symbols as group marks, or whether we are dealing with an effect of the still active totemic classification system, as exposed in the foregoing chapters. In our opinion it is not to be doubted that the latter alternative is right. The conception of the antithesis red-white is found in many places, and still more so the antithesis and the unity of sunbird and serpent as representation of the antithesis and unity of upper- and underworld, as we shall see in the next chapter. There is, indeed, good evidence of the falcon and the serpent having also formerly had a place in the system. Moret has conclusively proved that the ancient nomes have been independent totemic tribes. Now we read in an article of Amélineau that in all nomes the serpent had a place in the religious system. „Chacun de ces nomes avait son

dieu protecteur et ce dieu protecteur était un serpent" <sup>1)</sup>). Moret himself mentions that in antiquity the falcon was worshipped in many places <sup>2)</sup>). If we now start from the not very hazardous hypothesis that the totemic cosmological dualism in these nomes was connected with the falcon and the serpent or *with a totem equivalent to these according to the classification system prevailing at the time*, then the conditions met with in the oldest historical time are not very difficult to understand <sup>3)</sup>). Seeing that the socio-religious dualism has lingered on for such a long time in Egyptian culture, it is very probable indeed that a similar dualism has existed among the earlier tribes.

The parallel phenomena in the Kwakiutl and the Natchez cultures enable us to realize pretty clearly how conditions may have developed themselves in Egypt. Probably the king, also here, has at first been the *primus inter pares*; Moret draws attention to the Sarou, who, in later times, were the *grandes* of the realm. „Il est impossible de ne pas se souvenir que dans l'Égypte des Pharaons il a existé, à toutes les époques, des conseils d'Anciens, appelés Sarou (les Princes, les grands), auxquels les textes religieux des Pyramides (VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie) prêtent une origine antérieure à toute organisation politique: dans la société des dieux, qui selon la tradition religieuse, habitèrent l'Égypte avant les hommes, le premier corps organisé était gouverné non par un roi (nsout), mais par des Sarou" <sup>4)</sup>). This group has probably grown out of the clans of highly respected people, first in the separate tribes, later in the realm. Their special relation to the deity appears from the organization of the pantheon. It follows that here we are in touch with the same line of development which was found among the primitive tribes under discussion. The king has finally become the truest representative of the divine power and has pushed back the others into the position of counsellors of the king, who now himself is the deity <sup>5)</sup>).

1) 2, p. 347.

2) See e. g. 48a, p. 46 and p. 62 ff.

3) Vulture, sparrow-hawk, and such varieties appear frequently, cp. 62, p. 22 and p. 59.

4) 48, p. 144.

5) It is also clear now, why he can concentrate all totems on himself (62, p. 46 note 1). He represents the whole system.

Lastly, we wish to point out a few more similarities between ancient Egyptian and Kwakiutl culture. The ideas concerning the Nile vividly remind us of the Indian notions about the sea. The Nile also rises in the underworld, into which it threatens to disappear when there is a great drought<sup>1)</sup>. Like the sea god with the Kwakiutl, the Nile god is chief of the underworld<sup>2)</sup>. The totemic system shows the same interchange of serpent and frog. „Schlange und Frosch konnten sich also als Kopf der Elementargötter sinngleich vertreten“, we are told in the book of Barbara Renz „Der Orientalische Schlangendrache“<sup>3)</sup>. Several egyptologists also accept a close connection between the conceptions with regard to the soul (ka and ba) and totemism<sup>4)</sup>. These conceptions are still giving evidence of the bond between the commoners and the ancient totemic system. The association of the ka with the mana conception is manifest from the relation between the ka and food<sup>5)</sup>, which, of course, reminds us at once of the relation between mana and food in the Kwakiutl potlatch. This is also true of the relation between gold and divine power, for here gold has exactly the same significance as copper among the Kwakiutl. The falcon and the uraeus were both represented in gold, and the gold was the symbol of the rising sun and, in general, of the central divine power. As the serpent is the life of the gods, so the gold is called the body of the gods. Just as the copper among the Kwakiutl, so the gold here is the power of upper- and underworld, of life conceived as embracing life and death<sup>6)</sup>.

Also in Egypt, as among the Kwakiutl, we find the dwarf figure. Barbara Renz says about the god Ptah: „Man stellte ihn als personifizierte Brutperiode, d. h. des Zustandes zwischen Tod und Leben, wie auch als Embryo der Welt, in Zwerggestalt mit zwei sich über seiner Brust kreuzenden Schlangen dar“<sup>7)</sup>. This way of representing the god at once reminds us of the dwarf figure

1) 48, p. 171.

2) 39, p. 90—91.

3) 52, p. 11.

4) Cp. Moret in 47, p. 199—223 and Peet l. c. p. 334.

5) 47, p. 212; cp. 62, p. 38.

6) 62, p. 38 and p. 72—83.

7) 52, p. 24.



with the two halibuts (= serpents, according to the classification system) on his breast and of the Nonlemgila, who likewise was very closely connected with the serpent, and was found to act, a. o., in the cannibalistic dances. Moret informs us that also in Egypt dwarves acted in the obsequial rites, for which purpose pygmies were obtained from the neighbouring peoples in the South. „Par leurs contorsions rythmées, leurs balancements, ces pygmées savaient rejouer le coeur d'Osiris au ciel, et celui du Pharaon sur terre" <sup>1)</sup>. They obviously represent the supernatural power of the underworld. They are old manikins, who are at the same time the germ of the new life. This dwarf conception seems to have been wide-spread in classical antiquity. Dangel has made a brief comparative study of the myth concerning the fight between the wandering birds and the dwarves which occurs both in Northwest America and in classical literature <sup>2)</sup>. In Northwest American mythology it is an episode in the myth about the journey to the country in the West. There in any case, but also, probably, elsewhere, it is a representation of the struggle to the death in the underworld.

Thus we have found a great number of similar conceptions in the cultures of our Indians and of the ancient Egyptians. A more thorough study from this point of view should bring to light much more evidence of vital interest for the understanding of both cultures and for acquiring insight into the relation between primitive culture and the civilization of classical antiquity.

1) 47, p. 262. About the foetus cp. 47, p. 82—83.

2) R. Dangel in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, Vol. VII (1931).

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## X. THE BIRD-SERPENT AND PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

In the second chapter we have briefly exposed the character of the totemic cosmological classification system. In the succeeding chapters it was pointed out how the religious system of the Northwest American Indians was wholly dominated by it. The thunder eagle comprised the whole system, but, for all that, was preferably associated with the upperworld. His power was the serpent. By means of this he fought the underworld, which, likewise, was chiefly represented by the serpent. On the other side he formed a unity with the power of the underworld, as was especially brought out by the winter ritual. His good aspect was personated in the figure of Qaneqelaku, the culture hero and benefactor. Between these two, indeed, there existed a certain identity, but their relations to the winter ritual were quite different. We have repeatedly drawn attention to the ambivalence of the religious system, and we have even been able to prove this with regard to Qaneqelaku, although he, more than any other figure, represented a definite aspect. His association with Nemoqwis and Kwekwaxawe, the raven, was at first sight rather confusing, when we tried to understand the system, but finally it became evident that by inquiring into this relation, we obtained a deeper insight. The same thing was found to be true of Qaneqelaku's relations to the winter ritual and the serpent. The ultimately triumphant power of this ritual was closely connected with Qaneqelaku, for the worsted baxus of the winter period ultimately became the dominant baxus of the summer period. The antithesis of both periods may be approximately indicated as follows. The summer is the time in which predominate: Qaneqelaku, the upperworld, the South, the day sun, the direction East-West, and the unthreatened life. During this time the community, organized in clans, spreads and leads a quietly busy life. Only off and on the tsetsaeqa gives a sign of life, for example when a marriage is con-

tracted, a marriage gift is paid back, and when a war raid or a potlatch takes place. In winter the serpent is dominant, with the underworld, the North, the sun and moon after setting, the direction West-East, the struggle of life and death, light and darkness, in which life and light ultimately triumph and are reborn. During this period, when the divine trickster, whose role in many parts of the world seems to be filled by the serpent, reigns supreme, the community, which is then organized in societies, shows an intensive group life. The potlatch and the winter ritual with cannibalism as the central rite engross the minds of people to the exclusion of all other things. It is the time of the mystery of rebirth, embracing ruin, death, and resurrection. In this the dualistic character of religion is strongly emphasized, but through the struggle of the two cosmic forces the new life comes into being. This conceptual complex is coloured by the idea of marriage, as we clearly saw from the marriage of Qaneqelaku with Death-bringing-woman. Just as man and woman, though antagonistic, have to collaborate in order to produce the new life, so also upper- and underworld have to unite for the purpose of renewing the Cosmos. The serpent is pre-eminently the symbol of this paradoxal combination of monism and dualism <sup>1</sup>). He is the bisexual power, which contains life, but as master of death he is also the dreaded enemy of life. It is the serpent which threatens to devour the sun, but it is also the serpent which returns it to the upperworld, reborn. This explains why the sun, going to the East, may be represented as serpent, as we saw in the Noaqaua myth. Like the growing sun, growing man abides in the realm of the dead. The soul of the deceased goes from West to East and, arriving at the earth through the hole in the East, where Alakila is, enters the pregnant woman. The under-

1) This appears clearly in the thought of these Indians. The duality of the sisiul is expressed by the two heads. In Fig. 1 we even found the two halves of the serpent opposite each other and among the Tsimshian in one of the versions of the Raven myth the serpent was represented as a married couple, who had a difference of opinion about causing the raven to be voracious. The two carved figures of the house of Qomogwa also give a quite different advice when a visitor appears (14, p. 62). The one advises to attack him, the other to treat him well. Another myth mentions one talking carved figure and says about it: "*This is the indwelling power of chief Wealthy (Qomogwa)*", 15, p. 275. This last figure is reproduced in 13, Plate XLV fig. 4.

world sustains life, and in general the serpent is the life-giving power. It is owing to him, really, that the Cosmos exists. He is the power of upper- and underworld and the connection between them, as is evident from the conception that he is the flash of lightning and the rainbow. The direction West-East, which is the road through the serpent to life, is also, according to the classification system, the vertical connection of under- and upperworld. Therefore the serpent may be the post by means of which the Cosmos is maintained, and now we understand why according to some passages he resides in the West <sup>1)</sup> and, according to others, in the middle of the world. "Hold upright the great post in the middle of the world" is sung to the returned novice, and since the latter has become one with the serpent, they may continue: "You who hold up the world. You keep the sky from falling down like a foundation built of interlocking logs" <sup>2)</sup>. We pointed out before that the cannibal pole in the house of ceremonies representing the Cosmos, had the same significance. The serpent is the tree of life, which brings forth light and life, but at the same time he is the tree of darkness and the destruction of life <sup>3)</sup>.

The serpent, which maintains the whole Cosmos, is pre-eminently the possessor of mana. We might even say that he is the

1) 20, p. 50; 20, p. 36: "At Sunset stands an enormous post... It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down in the lower world"; cp. 12, p. 401, where is said, that the Post-of-Heaven is of copper. It is: "the copper post of our world". Interesting is also 14, p. 253, where, concerning the post in the West, is said to some one: "And you will have for your cannibal pole the post of our world".

2) 6, p. 492.

3) There are various important data suggesting that the totem poles of these Indians, also, represent the serpent. This is quite natural, for these totem poles are, like wealth, a sign of high standing. Very instructive is the myth of the Haida about "The origin of House-Posts" (60, p. 457—459). A woman during a sea journey sees a pole with figures (a. o. killer whales) at the bottom of the calm clear water. They reproduce several copies of this pole for the chiefs. A flood is caused by the mighty power of the sea, so that they must abandon these poles. One of these old poles is still to be seen somewhere. "Moss grows upon it. When one saw it, he became rich... *And they also used to pray to the house-post to become wealthy.* Those who prayed did become wealthy". From this it may be definitely concluded that it is the serpent. The pole comes from the sea god and represents the totems associated with him. For a variation of this myth see 34, p. 40. See also 7c, p. 255, where a person fetches a totem pole from Qomogwa. According to Bancroft the old man with the copper canoe was represented by wooden figures in the houses (5, p. 151). It is, however, the question whether all varieties of totem poles represent the serpent.

mana. This is another illustration of the very close connection between the impersonal and the personal power of the religious system <sup>1)</sup>. In the potlatch this was manifested very clearly by the connection and identity of serpent and wealth. The elements of sacrifice, rebirth, acquisition of a new status and suchlike have been exposed in the pertinent chapter and need not be repeated here. We were able to state how the social organization changed, but still there proved to exist some connection between its more recent form and the religious system, and this fact drew our attention to a parallel phenomenon in ancient Egypt. It was possible to point out the coming into existence of a pantheon whose figures were no longer, or less firmly, fixed in definite social forms. This was especially evident in Bella Coola culture, but here also the old system was still recognizable. In the uppermost heaven resided the goddess Qamaits with the sisiul, which we proposed to regard as a unity, in which, consequently, Qamaits represented the female aspect of the serpent. We compared her position to Winalagilis', who likewise could be conceived as a female being. It was difficult to explain why, then, she had a place in the upperworld. The solution is given by the comparison with Winalagilis, who, as we saw, could be represented as a thunderbird and was then, more or less, identified with the supreme deity. The same thing is probably true of Qamaits, for we find not only the serpent in her territory, but also a bird which has power over the light. The following is said about her house: "In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house" <sup>2)</sup>. When the cannibalistic initiator with his novice comes to Qamaits and the post shuts its eyes, the text states: "It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light" <sup>3)</sup>. Evidently it is the sky bird (eagle), associated with the sun; and in Qamaits we are probably dealing with the supreme deity, who here, likewise, is a bird-serpent. Her serpent aspect, however, strongly predominates, for she is regarded as a warrior

1) Regarding the impersonal power cp. 44, p. 117, note 5, and 58, p. 451, note c.

2) 20, p. 28.

3) 20, p. 34.

and a producer of disease and death. She is not prayed to; there are other figures which are called upon for help and welfare <sup>1)</sup>).

A typical similarity to the ideas concerning the serpent in other cultures is shown by the conception of the serpent as the god of wisdom. The name Noaqaua means Wisest-one, and in a creation myth <sup>2)</sup> of one of the northern Kwakiutl tribes he acts as the deviser of the creative acts, while Masmassalanik, the god of the East, is the executor. It is evident again, from the beginning of the myth, how upper- and underworld are conceptions which pervade each other, for Noaqaua and his comrade and cooperator appear from the sky. „Nachdem der Rabe die Sonne befreit hatte, stiegen Noakaua und Masmasalanik vom Himmel herab, um alles schön und gut zu machen. Noakaua dachte: O, wenn doch Masmasalanik das Land und das Wasser schiede; und Masmasalanik schied das Land vom Wasser" <sup>3)</sup>. Next follows quite an enumeration of the things devised by Noaqaua and executed by Masmassalanik. Finally Noaqaua wishes the existence of death, but Masmassalanik does not. Then the grave bird complains that it will have no place where it can build its nest. „Da beschlossen Noakaua und Masmasalanik zu sterben und dann als Kinder zurückzukehren. Sie starben und stiegen hinauf in den Himmel, um zu sehen, ob die Leute sie betrauernten. Sie sahen dort, dass alle Menschen wehklagten und da verwandelten sie sich in Blutströpfchen, die mit dem Winde zur Erde herabwehten. Im Schlafe athmeten die Frauen dieselben ein, und in folgedessen gebaren alle Kinder. So kehrten Noakaua und Masmasalanik zur Erde zurück".

Here these two figures are the two aspects of the underworld and, properly speaking, of the whole Cosmos. Masmassalanik, the god of young life, does not desire death, but Noaqaua, who in this myth is the wise god of the West, of old age and death, does. Out of them, that is, out of the underworld, the new life is born. We also found this idea expressed in the myth about the visit to Alakila, during which the latter related that at his home in the

1) 20, p. 29 ff.

2) 7c. p. 449—451.

3) They function as culture hero. Qaneqelaku can also represent the life issuing from the underworld. The relation between Masmassalanik and Noaqaua must then be compared to that of Qaneqelaku and Kwekwaxawe.

East the children went through the hole to the pregnant mothers on earth.

This conception is found among primitive peoples in many places of the world. The true germ of human life originates from the underworld or, in general, from the deity. The idea prevalent with the Batak in North Sumatra, is very closely related to the Kwakiutl one. They believe, namely, that woman may be impregnated by water <sup>1)</sup>. Just as among the Kwakiutl, the water is closely related to the underworld, hence with the life-giving power. We find in a Batak-Dutch vocabulary, indeed, that the expression „na didalom laut”, which means: who is in the sea, is a figurative saying for „na didalom bortian”, which means: who is in the womb. It is added that the fruit is compared with the sun which has not yet risen from the sea! <sup>2)</sup>. The underworld is the chaos from which all things have come forth. This idea also lives in a region of Northwest Australia. There the serpent Ungud, the rainbow serpent!, bears the same name as the primeval age from which originates everything. He is regarded as the origin of the spirit babies <sup>3)</sup>.

Also on the Trobriand Islands life is thought to come out of the underworld <sup>4)</sup>. The spirit babies cross the sea and penetrate into the women, who by this bear children. Thus here the underworld is closely connected with the sea. It is in the North and it is to a large extent associated with sexuality. Malinowski believes that the natives are truly ignorant of biological fatherhood, but the whole structure of their society indicates that they are not, and that the negation of the biological function is to be regarded as a ritual conception. Mauss rightly pointed out that this conception probably implies that life is produced by the cooperation of a more spiritual, patrilineal, and a more material, matrilineal element, while he drew attention a. o. to the current ideas of the African

1) 3 a, p. 256.

2) H. N. van der Tuuk (Amsterdam, 1861) p. 461. I am indebted to my friend W. Kern for drawing my attention to this passage and to the works of Wensinck.

3) Oceania I, p. 351. In another place in Australia the children come from the Moon (3 a, p. 257).

4) 43, p. 145 ff.; id. p. 360 ff. Underworld and Sexuality. The spirit child among the Trobriands (as the soul among the Kwakiutl, cp. 19, p. 275) enters the body of the woman by the way of the head.

Ashanti <sup>1)</sup>. Such a double totemism may also have been functioning among the Trobrianders. But setting aside this, there may be adduced another argument in favour of this interpretation. We are thinking of the Trobriand *kula*, the intertribal potlatch, which exercises its influence over a large group of islands <sup>2)</sup>. Here it is not copper pieces, but shell necklaces and armlets which occupy the central place. The structure of this potlatch is slightly different, for the shells given to somebody are not returned by that person. The system is not perfectly reciprocal, but circulating. Its simplest scheme is this: A gives to B, B to C, C to A. These together form a ring. Now the essence of the *kula* system is that the male necklaces (*soulava*) go round clockwise, and that the female armshells (*mwali*) go round in the opposite direction. Their union is regarded as a marriage! <sup>3)</sup>. Standing in the ring facing the centre, one receives the male *soulava* with the right hand and the female *mwali* with the left hand and passes them on in the same direction <sup>4)</sup>. Thus, when our scheme is A-B-C, then the male *soulava* are given by C to B, by B to A, and by A to C again; and the female *mwali* pass from A to B, from B to C, and from C to A. Now, when we visualize the scheme as a ring with the four points of the compass indicated on it, then we find that the males circulate East-South-West-North and the females East-North-West-South; in other words: the males follow the course of the sun and the females take the opposite direction. Mauss interprets the data thus: the *soulava* go from East to West, and the *mwali* from West to East, but this is incomplete, although this antithesis of directions ultimately indicates the same thing <sup>5)</sup>. We suggest that the male *soulava* represent the upperworld aspect and the female *mwali* the underworld aspect. The marriage between the two is evidently localized, also here, in the underworld, just as the union

1) Mauss in the same number of *l'Année Sociologique* as *Essai sur le Don* (44), p. 618—620; cp. id. p. 598.

2) 42, specially Chapter III.

3) 42, p. 356: "When two of the opposite valuables meet in the *Kula* and are exchanged, it is said that these two have married. The armshells are conceived as a female principle, the necklaces as the male".

4) 42, p. 93.

5) 44, p. 70.



of Qaneqelaku and Death-bringing-woman<sup>1)</sup>. In this way we obtain an explanation of the direction of the two kula objects, and at the same time the connection between the kula and the potlatch is found to be still closer than Mauss has been able to prove. The evident relation between the kula and the underworld, which produces life, is also made quite comprehensible by our interpretation<sup>2)</sup>. Certain data concerning the canoe are suggestive of the presence, also here, of the bird-serpent but we cannot go into this at present<sup>3)</sup>.

Very instructive with respect to our views are the ideas concerning birth and bird-serpent on San Cristoval (in Central Melanesia), on which region Fox wrote his well-known book "The threshold of the Pacific". The bird-serpent Hatuibwari embraces the system in its entirety. A native drawing represents this being as a serpent with a human upper part of the body, which is winged<sup>4)</sup>. In the head are two pairs of eyes underneath each other; probably the mouth is also double. Further it has double female breasts, although it is considered male. Fox says about this bisexual being, which is obviously a union of upper- and underworld: "Hatuibwari is said to put the souls into the womb before birth"<sup>5)</sup>.

1) Then the kula is essentially a religious rite. Malinowski by using Frazer's unfortunate conception of magic has conjured away religion. — The connection between marriage and kula is also clear from the beautifying processes etc. (cp. 43, p. 291).

2) See e. g. 42, p. 489—493.

3) The mythical canoes are directly connected with the mulukwausi (42, p. 320), called flying witches by Malinowski. These flying mythical canoes remind us, in many respects, of the sisiul canoes. Like the sisiul, they split rocks (42, p. 311—316; cp. for the sisiul 20, p. 66) and have a supernatural prow and stern (cp. 42, p. 311—316). One of the mulukwausi is called Tobunaygu. This is the mother of the dog Tokulubwaydoga. We read in the kaygau ("magic of fog", according to Malinowski) of the dog Tokulubwaydoga: "... myself a snake, my mother a snake" (42, p. 264)! with other words: the dog and his mother are both snakes. The prowboards of the ceremonial canoes are called buribwari (fish-hawk!). About the veneration of the snake with kula objects (and of animals, which clearly represent the same aspect of the religious system), see 42, p. 77.

4) 30a, fig. 8.

5) 30a, p. 244. It is to be noted that we find such ideas still current in the folklore of modern civilization. The stork, which brings the children to the women, was formerly conceived as a thunderbird, which rescued the children from the underworld (cp. 3a, p. 267). — About the connection of Hatuibwari with thunder and

Both the celestial benefactor Tagaro and his mythic consort, the terrestrial trickster Sukwe, have come forth from this being, and this couple is thought to be the creator of man. De Josselin de Jong has shown that this double being was also connected with a religious and social dualism<sup>1</sup>). But it is of special interest that the mana belief here is so similar to the Kwakiutl one. The impersonal central power is called Unua. Particles of this Unua are present in men, animals and objects, and are then called mana. When conceived as personal, Unua becomes Agunua, who is identical with Hatuibwari! Just as Agunua is the Unua conceived as a personal being, so spirits, ghosts, and souls are parts of Unua conceived as personal, in other words: mana conceived as personal<sup>2</sup>). De Josselin de Jong points out that in this culture all the elements of belief which, up to now, have been treated as quite independent of each other, form part of one cosmological and religious system. He thinks it probable that the same thing is true of all primitive religion. It becomes more and more evident that the earlier distinctions of pre-animism (mana theory), animism, totemism, belief in demonic beings, belief in a supreme deity and so on as either unrelated and independent or genetically connected, are inadequate with regard to primitive culture as far as we know it at present. We have to look upon all these elements as forming part of one system of belief. A striking homogeneity appears to be characteristic of primitive culture, for not only religion, but also social organization shows a marked uniformity of structure. Of course continued researches and a shifting of interest to differently formulated problems will bring out many and even deep individual differences, but it is a matter of mere logical thinking to understand — although many people apparently do not! — that the existence of the individual element cannot be pointed out before some insight has been gained into the general fundamentals. To anybody who is studying some branch of cultural science, it will

lightning cp. 30a, p. 88. Particularly interesting is the relation with the canoe 'aha 'aha, in which the dead are buried: "for 'aha 'aha is also the name of the sky home of the winged serpent Hatuibwari to which the dead will go, and this canoe will be used for that journey" (id, p. 211; cp. p. 237).

1) 37, p. 18.

2) See for this and the next the resumé in 37, p. 17.

be a matter of course that in order to get thoroughly acquainted with these general fundamentals, the very best thing one can do is to make an accurate study of definite primitive cultures in their entirety.

We might expect important results if it were possible to bring about an intensive collaboration between ethnology and the study of classical and ancient eastern cultures. In his treatise on the origin of the divine trickster, de Josselin de Jong started from the figure of Hermes in ancient Hellas, and pointed out an essential unity between figures of this kind and conceptions prevalent among primitive tribes. Founding upon the exposition of the egyptologist Moret, we also have ventured on a territory which is not classified as primitive. Before crossing the traditional borderline once more, we want to make the two following statements. In the first place, that we have chiefly used data collected by one of the best authorities concerning this area, and further, that our discussion enables us to throw light upon a problem which is by no means irrelevant to ethnology.

The area which we briefly want to discuss is West Asia. In three very instructive treatises, instructive also from an ethnological point of view, Wensinck has given an exposé of the cosmological system of this ancient culture <sup>1)</sup>. This system in many respects shows a striking similarity to the cosmological classification system which we have treated. Also here a definite region is identified with the entirety, so that geographical references often have a cosmological significance <sup>2)</sup>. In the West, the North, and the East there are holes giving entrance to the other world <sup>3)</sup>. Under- and upperworld are sometimes sharply opposed, but on the other hand not unfrequently become one <sup>4)</sup>. West and East are intimately related, just as in Egypt and among the Kwakiutl, so that they even may be identified <sup>5)</sup>. Therefore the tree of life, which is usually thought to be in the East, may also be found in the

1) 63, 64, 65. He established no relation, however, with the totemic cosmological system.

2) 65, p. 1 ff.

3) 65, p. 2.

4) 65, p. 10.

5) 65, p. 18.

West<sup>1)</sup>. The underworld is here also closely related to the ocean, which is especially represented as a serpent<sup>2)</sup>. The twofold character of the ocean and the underworld is expressly pointed out by Wensinck. When discussing the positive power of the ocean he says: "Here the ocean is not longer the element that has to be tamed, but the substance out of which all things were created"<sup>3)</sup>. Concerning the Tehom (i. e. the nether world) he remarks: "Tehom is the element of death as well as of life, it is the seat of hell and of paradise"<sup>4)</sup>. The serpent also has this twofold character. He is found round the divine throne and round the navel, which is the centre of the world and is conceived as closely connected with the sanctuary<sup>5)</sup>. The Babylonian serpent god Ea, the god of the underworld and of the primeval water, from which terrestrial life arose in the beginning, is the creator and the rescuer of man, but he is also the divine trickster who caused immortality to escape man<sup>6)</sup>. The serpent as god of the ocean is not only the god of life, but especially the god of destruction, death and chaos. The conception of a cosmic struggle between upper- and underworld is quite well-known in this culture. One has only to think of the fight between Marduk and Tiamat<sup>7)</sup>. From our view the important point is that the eagle very often functions as a personation of the upperworld. He is the sun bird and therefore the winged sun disk occurs on the pictures<sup>8)</sup>. As the serpent is especially the figure which represents the underworld, we find also here the fight between eagle and serpent as a cosmic

1) 65, p. 17. With regard to the sunset in the West (65, p. 1) we find the same representation as among the Kwakiutl, where the sun is also thought to set in a mountain (6, p. 411 and p. 413; cp. 7c, p. 238). Among the Kwakiutl it is the mountain of the white eagle Matem. He is covered with the quartz and the eagle feathers which are used in the ceremonial.

2) 64, p. 25; 63, p. 61 and p. 64.

3) 64, p. 56.

4) 64, p. 65. The following is also important for the support of our contention. "Sometimes the fertilising power of Tehom is represented in a remarkable way: the water of upper Tehom is represented as the masculine, that of nether Tehom as the feminine element; fertility springs from the meeting of the two" (64, p. 61-62).

5) 63, p. 62.

6) 40, p. 2 ff.

7) 65, p. 47.

8) 65, fig. 21, fig. 28, etc. Here also other birds appear as representation of the upperworld and the sun, e. g. the peacock and the vulture (65, p. 38 and 39).

struggle. The following statement of Wensinck might just as well refer to Kwakiutl religion. "Indeed, the eagle with the serpent in its mouth or between its paws is a striking illustration of the idea of cosmic victory, as discussed above. Eagle and Serpent are the representatives of two of the mightiest cosmic entities, the sun and the ocean" <sup>1)</sup>). How far the serpent is conceived as being one with the eagle, is not to be said with certainty. In any case we meet with the idea that the sun rises from the water <sup>2)</sup>). On the pictures reproduced by Wensinck in his third treatise "Tree and bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia", we very frequently notice the combination of the tree of life with the winged sun <sup>3)</sup>). The tree is the tree of light as well as of life. As in many other places, so here light and life are very closely associated. We have already found that this tree occurs in the East, but also in the West. Moreover it is thought to stand in the centre of the world. It rises from the underworld and connects heaven and earth. "Now this central tree is the tree of life: it sustains all men and animals. But is also the tree of light. It not only symbolizes the earth, but also the sun, exactly as appeared to be the case with the tree in the East which belongs sometimes to the earth, sometimes to the sun" <sup>4)</sup>). All of this conception vividly reminds us of the Kwakiutl idea. Wensinck shows that the tree was also pictured as a pole <sup>5)</sup>). Further we find in the description of the tree that it is overloaded with the costliest things and consists of a very precious substance <sup>6)</sup>). It is a. o. mentioned in the territory of the serpent god Ea. "Its aspect is splendid lapis lazuli; it is directed towards the ocean. In Eridu is the walking-ground of Ea, full of opulence. His dwelling is in the place of the earth (or: the nether world)" <sup>7)</sup>). Is it not probable that also here the tree which is between heaven

1) 65, p. 46. On the same page, Wensinck notes that this conception is of frequent occurrence in Greek and Latin authors. "Thompson in his Catalogue of Greek Birds mentions a long list of references to Greek and Latin authors who mention the fight between eagle and dragon".

2) 65, fig. 1.

3) fig. 2, fig. 8, a. o.

4) 65, p. 27; cp. 64, p. 60—61.

5) 65, p. 23; cp. fig. 23.

6) 65, p. 3.

7) 65, p. 4.

and earth forms a certain identity with the serpent? It is well-known that the tree also occurs in double shape and that the tree of wisdom contains death <sup>1)</sup>). Consequently, the tree bears exactly the same character as the serpent, which is very closely associated with it, and which appears to know its secret. In that case the sun over the tree is the same thing as the Egyptian and Kwakiutl conception of the sun rising out of the serpent; and this is suggestive of the unity of eagle and serpent which entirely fits in with the character of this cosmological system. The Old Testament especially emphasizes the dualistic aspect of the relation between deity and serpent, although some passages plainly show the positive aspect of the serpent <sup>2)</sup>). Lastly we want to state that, according to Wensinck, there existed a close connection between the tree and the sanctuary, which was conceived as being in the centre of the Cosmos <sup>3)</sup>).

This brief exposé of the cosmological system in Western Asia at the same time enables us to throw some light upon the problem of the origin and significance of the kajon, the essential element of the screen in the Javanese theatre. Many pictures of this kajon show a very significant similarity with the illustrations given by Wensinck. We have before us a tree in the middle, flanked by two mythical animal figures. A serpent is winding round the tree and in its upper part resides the eagle, the well-known Garuda. Below, in the middle, is a small building, guarded on both sides by a terrifying giant <sup>4)</sup>). The entrance hole to the other world, guarded by two demons, also frequently occurs in West Asia. On the ground of this similarity with the ideas of Western Asia and of Egypt and India some investigators have been inclined to derive the kajon figure from cultural elements in the areas mentioned <sup>5)</sup>), a hypothesis which is rightly rejected by Rassers in his study „Over den oorsprong van het Javaansche Tooneel”, doubtlessly one of the most important ethnological publications of recent years.

1) 65, p. 11—12.

2) E. g. the brazen snake of Mozes (cp. 40 p. 16, note 1).

3) 65, p. 26 and p. 33.

4) See 51, Plate I and p. 399.

5) Cp. 51, p. 405 and the literature mentioned there. My attention was drawn to this relation by Dr. Rassers.

He conclusively proved that the kajon must be a picture on a small scale of the façade of the primitive men's house, and was meant to represent the totemic cosmological system<sup>1</sup>). Just as among the Kwakiutl, so this ceremonial house represents the Cosmos. The tree with the serpent and the bird represents the whole, the figures on either side indicate the social and cosmological dualism. The bird-serpent is also here the power of the ritual. It is told of the Garuda that he devoured all kinds of beings, even gods<sup>2</sup>); this shows that he, like the serpent, is the god of initiation and rebirth. It is in perfect accordance with our explanation of the bird-serpent, when Rassers states that they are the supreme deity and the creator of this world<sup>3</sup>). In other studies he proved that the contents of Javanese dramas are still entirely dominated by the totemistic cosmological classification system. This fact suggested inquiring after the significance of the kajon among those peoples whose whole culture is still under the sway of this system, and not in the culture of Western Asia and so on. Of course the conceptions in the latter area originate from the same system, for they are still largely governed by it. Evidently there is some connection between this culture and the one which has produced the Javanese theatre, but this connection is probably quite different in character from the one of which most investigators used to think.

From all this it is apparent how the conception of the bird-serpent has an important place in the totemic cosmological system. Accidental similarity seems to be hardly possible, and the diffusionist theory will find it very hard to point out the place of origin. Here we are confronted with the problem of culture as such. And here also lurks a great danger, which a scholar like Durkheim has certainly not been able to escape. This danger consists in mistaking the forms for the essential values. Durkheim has accumulated all creative activity in the notion of *Société*, which in his way of reasoning, indeed, came to display divine properties<sup>4</sup>). At present

1) 51, p. 408. The correspondence in form is specially distinct, cp. Plate I, II and III.

2) 51, p. 415.

3) 51, p. 415.

4) The same thing frequently happened in other sciences. Hence Naturalism, Vitalism, Psychic monism, etc.

many people are inclined to do the same thing with the notion of Culture. This is especially tempting in ethnology, as we see how primitive peoples almost identify Society with the Cosmos and its creative power, so that all cultural life is dominated by religion. Science gives us no critical element by means of which this process of transforming the relative into the absolute might be stopped. It is our conviction that such a critical element is to be found nowhere but in a belief which implicates culture and science themselves in the tension of monism and dualism, and thereby maintains their relativity.

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 Col. Contr. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.  
 J. E.        The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Leiden — New York).  
 Mededeelingen. Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde. Serie B.  
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## ERRATA.

P. 11 line 15—18 (Thus we read etc.). Read:

Thus we read: "... the pole from which the thunderbird watches for his salmon, — whales and serpents". Another myth relates how two girls are seeing that the thunderbird drops a sisiul out of his claws.

P. 19 line 22—24 (The idea etc.). Read:

The idea entirely originates with his wife, who uttered the desire that he should take an additional wife, namely the daughter of Alakila.